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PHOCION'S CONVERSATIONS:

Or, the Relation between

MORALITY AND POLITICS.

Originally translated by

ABBE MABLY,

From a Greek Manuscript of NICOCLES; with Notes

By WILLIAM MACBEAN, A.M.

And Master of a Boarding-School at Newmarket.

Vanæ proficiunt? Hon. Od. xix. 1. 3.

Inscribed to the Friends of Morality and just Politics.

LONDON:

Printed for the Author, and fold by Mr. Dodsley, in Pall-Mall. MDCCLXIX.

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than virtue and military capacity, fixed

BOUT two years ago as I was tra-A velling in Italy, an event, of which the particulars are of no concern to the public, caused me to spend some months at the monastery of Monte Cassini, the celebrated nursery of that respectable order, which, amidst all the barbarism in which Europe lay immersed for several ages, has distinguished itself by a sedulous cultivation of literature, and to which the learned are indebted for all the works of the ancients remaining in our hands. Its library is entirely worthy of those eminent men by whom it was formed, being very rich and valuable, especially in manuscripts. I alighted accidentally on one, which, if there be any truth in the rules of criticism on this article,

ticles, must be very ancient; it is in good preservation, and the title: Phocson's Conversations.

A work hitherto unknown, and bearing the name of one of the greatest men of all Greece, no less famed for eloquence than virtue and military capacity, fixed my whole attention: there was no leaving it. And after perufing it over and over with fresh pleasure, I moved the librarian to make fo valuable a treasure public ; but his manner of answering me being little fatisfactory, complaining of the prefent contempt of the antients, of the decay of literature, and how very superfluous and useless the increasing of originals would be, Homer, Plato and Demosthenes being now read only in translations, I expeditioufly betook myself to make an extract of Phocion's doctrine. This first essay put me on translating his Converfations: the piece being short, I quickly got over the difficulties of my undertaking; and my next interval of leifure I laid hold

on to revise my translation, in which, at first, I had kept to a literal punctuality.

I have shewn my performance to some men of learning, and consulted them on several passages, which, though copied precisely, put me to a stand. They kindly favoured me with their opinions; and as I now pay those gentlemen the due tribute of my acknowledgments, it becomes me not to conceal from the reader, that if some make no question of Nicocles having drawn up a digested collection of Phocion's doctrine, as Plato and Xenophon have preserved that of Socrates; others apprehend this work to be of a later date, and even bring it down to Plutarch's time.

How comes it to pass that Cicero, so deeply read in all the Grecian philosophers, and who seems to delight in exhibiting their doctrines, does not, in all his philosophical works, so much as mention the names either of Nicocles or Phocion? Is not this silence an evident proof

that the Roman philosopher knew nothing of these Conversations, which you are fo delighted to have rescued from the dust of a library? And as they were not known to him, is it at all likely that they were then in being? And then Plutarch, added fome, who is always fo very explicit and precise in every particular tending to illustrate his heroes, would he, in his Life of Phocion, have omitted his moral and political fystem, had he been acquainted with this supposed work of Nicocles? In two places he speaks of Nicocles himself as Phocion's most cordial and firmest friend: is it supposable he should forget to let the world know that he had composed and transmitted to posterity a most excellent representation of the manners and genius of the friend whom he highly honoured? This had been a relief to the glory of both. The antiquity of Phocion's . Conversations has, from these arguments, been inferred not to be fo very remote as one would be apt at first to imagine; thirly and

and the real author of this work is thought to have only borrowed the respectable names of Phocion and Nicocles, to give the greater weight to his doctrine.

Though I entertain the highest esteem for the critics who made these objections to me, yet have they not convinced me. Whether this is owing to felf-love, as tanflator of the work, or whether I am really in the right, let the public judge. Cicero's filence cannot, in my opinion, be admitted as an invincible argument against the book, of which I now publish a translation. I cannot fee that the order of the points discussed in his Offices, his Tusculans, his Dialogues on the Nature of the Gods, &c. led him to speak of Phocion's Conversations: on what account should he have quoted them? It is only in his Treatise on Laws, and more especially in his books on the republic, that he would have had occasion to introduce a work of this nature: and if I fay that probably he actually has, I do not fee any thing can

be objected to my affertion beyond a vague doubt, which is no manner of proof; for the former of these works is very far from being come to us entire; and the second is known to us only by a few fragments, and these but short.

Plutarch's filence, I own, carries with it a more specious difficulty; but can it be concluded that he knew nothing of any fuch composition, from his not having mentioned Nicocles's work? Does not that historian represent Phocion exactly in the fome colours as he paints himfelf in these Conversations. Was it not the most impreffive manner of fetting forth the moral and political system of that great man, to exhibit him as a zealous patriot, and uniformly practifing every virtue in the whole tenour of his life? This Plutarch justly conceived to be the whole business of an historian. Nicocles's work being already in every body's hands, he might think any particular mention needless, or perhaps he had before given an account of it

in his Morals; and time having deprived us of a part of these, what advantage can be taken from Plutarch's silence? I must cursorily observe here, that this silence of writers, which the generality of critics are continually making use of as a decisive argument, very seldom amounts to more than a very weak prejudice. Did it prove any thing against Phocion's Conversations, it were best to close with Pére Hardouin's literary Pyrrhonism, and make it a matter of doubt, whether most of the antient writings were really composed by the authors whose names they bear.

But a convictive answer to all difficulties which may be brought against me is the eloquence, the spirit, the energy which runs through Phocion's Conversations. Had those literati, who have seen only my translation, which I own very inadequate, perused the original, easily would they have perceived in it that genius and style which so advantageously distinguished the age of Plato, Thucidides and Demos-

thenes from the fucceeding times. I am not ignorant that for feveral centuries afterwards, and even when Greece was become a Roman province, the Greeks still spoke their language with great correctness and purity; but with the epocha of the ruin of their liberty, began the decay of their genius; their minds grew relax and nerveless, without any thing of their former asperity and vigour. They affected elegance in speech, but their thoughts had no fire, no fublimity; the ideas of beauty died away, and eloquence being now cultivated by rhetoricians, and not by philosophers, laid aside its former simplicity to prank itself out with tinsel and tawdry trinkets.

Philosophy, which in the schools of Socrates and Plato had been so solid, so penetrative and so clear, degenerated still faster than eloquence. The sophists, of whom these great men were already beginning to complain, entered as it were into a conspiracy against truth, and suppressed

pressed it; and to increase the number of their disciples, to whom they fold their lectures, made it their study to invent bold, fingular and chimerical opinions, with a method of defending them by wretched quirks and fubtilties. Will it be eafily believed that from among these dregs of philosophy is sprung the rational and virtuous doctrine of Phocion's Conversations. Politics, as may be supposed, was neglected still more than morality by men now no longer free, void of concern for their country, and fervilely homaging the Romans. But I dwell too long on this head. Those scholars who are acquainted with the genius and manners of the feveral ages, will tell themfelves, and better than I could, whatfoever I omit here. As for the other part of the public, little do they mind fuch digressions. The goodness or badness of a book is the point with them, and not the author's name or the age when writtens flaves, after a recipiocallo.net

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Greece, at the time of Phocion's taking part in the government of his country, being rent by intestine jars, was no longer what it had been when, united by the laws of its confederacy, and headed by Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles, Leonidas and other fuch patriots, she humbled the Perfian pride. The Lacedemonians, jealous of the great atchievements of the Athenians in the Median war, and not a little uneasy at the sentiments of ambition or vanity openly shewn by that republic, had been labouring to deprive her of the high confideration in which she deservedly stood. As for the Athenians, too much elated for having faved Greece, and being masters of the sea, they soon opened very loudly against the injustice of Lacedemon, and contested with her the command of the armies, which she had constantly held, and without any opposition, ever fince Lycurgus's wife institutions had been the rule of its government and manners. These two states, after a reciprocation of infults Greece.

infults and wrongs, came to an open war; and from this time that emulation which had produced fuch noble effects among the Greeks, degenerated into a jealoufy pregnant with many fordid vices. In this war all the Grecian republics engaged, forgetting that they were of one and the same origin, that they made but one people, and that their freedom depended on their union. All temper, regularity and fubordination were broken down; ambition and revenge dictated every public measure; and during the long space of thirty years that Lacedemon and Athens were furiously contending with each other for the fovereignty of Greece, neither their fruitless struggles, their mutual detriment, nor the low ebb to which they were reduced; in a word, nothing could bring them to a fense of their true interest, or convince them that they were running to utter destruction.

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How unhappily the Peloponnesian war ended is known to all the world. The Athenians,

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Athenians, being closely pressed both by fea and land, were at length obliged to fubmit to a conqueror, whom the difficulty of his fuccess, besides other motives, would incline to abuse his superiority. Athens was totally difmantled, Lyfander abolished its popular government, and this city, fo affuming and fo jealous of its liberty, was obliged to bow its neck to thirty tyrants. From this galling yoke Thrafibulus delivered her: thus, indeed the former government was restored, but the people, first corrupted by prosperity, afterwards contracting during their fubjection a familiarity with the meanest vices, never recovered their former character. A fondness for pleasures, and the luxury of some of the citizens introduced an enormous licentiousness. The populace, far from being quiet and regular under poverty, grew infolent and feditious. All patriotism became extinct; the love of glory was superfeded by the infatiable lust of riches, the laws were overpowered

powered by an universal profligacy, and, the magistrates being both despised and despicable, authority was of no weight or utility.

The Spartans, with all the glory and advantages of victory, were in reality little happier than the vanquished. Their very dominion over Greece was manifestly a troublesome burden to their weakness, which had infinuated itself through every part of their constitution; the result of departing from the institutions of their wife Lycurgus. Injustice, fraud and force, by which they meant to maintain and strengthen their sovereignty, did not counterbalance that justice, moderation and humanity, which had formerly gained them the confidence of the Greeks, and raifed them to be the acknowledged heads and arbiters of the confederacy. Every city, terrified at the Lacedemonian ambition, dreaded, and with great reason, that on offering to affert its rights, it should fall under the like deplorable catastrophe

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as Athens. All Greece was in motion to throw off the yoke, or to prevent flavery; and no fooner had the Thebans, whom Lacedemon used more as slaves than as subjects, revolted against its tyranny, than the redoubted Spartan power fell to pieces.

Thebes was now at the head of Greece, and this unexpected elevation of a republic, which, without the good fortune of having produced a Pelopidas and an Epaminondas, had remained in obscurity, was followed by the breaking out of a revolution, which its vices and the general ferment among the Greeks had brought to a ripeness. Not a city of any small confideration but thought it might fet up for the fame fortune as Thebes. Cabals of feparate interests were carried one very where; no traces of the antient union remained; alliances, which, till then had been the most respected, were trampled on; and those, now formed amidst consternation and anarchy, created no confidence. Politics were turned into fraudulent intrigue,

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and made subservient only to passions the most detrimental to the good of society. In this sad situation did Philip at his accession to the Macedonian crown, find Greece; and his ambition already began to be dreaded, when the patriotic conversations, of which we owe the preservation to Nicocles, passion between Phocion and Aristias.

There is not a subject of greater importance to mankind than that discussed in this work. It recurs to the fundamental principles of politics, and evinces that it can promote the welfare of fociety no farther than as it keeps close to the rules of the most pure and exact morality. This is no declaimer's common-place, nor is it made up of the speculations of a sequestered philosopher, who knows nothing of men and government. The reader is here presented with the precepts of a practical fage, whose philosophy was never out of action, whom experience guides, and who draws the principles of the science of governing men from the very nature

xvi THE PREFACE.

nature of man. Phocion commanded the Athenian army with little or no intermiffion; his fellow citizens intrusted him with several negotiations of the greatest moment and in the most critical junctures; and both in the senate and in the convention of the people, he proved the republic's being weak, irresolute, and despised to be wholly owing to its want of virtue. Whatever different notions of politics we may have framed, our ignorance and humour cannot alter the nature of truth: now, as Phocion has laid it open to us, let us retract our mistakes, and endeavour to be the better for his instructions.

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Plutarch tells us, we may readily suppose was not obscure or ignoble, since Hyperides, the son of Glaucippus, who accumulated a thousand spiteful things against him, has taken notice of no such circumstance, to his disparagement, as being the son of a turner: nor indeed would it have been possible for him in such a case to have received so liberal an education; for when very young he was a scholar of Plato, and afterwards a hearer of Zenocrates in the academy, being from his tender years addicted

dicted to fuch studies as tended to the most valuable accomplishments. He was of fo composed a countenance, that as Duris tells us, he was never feen to laugh or cry, never frequented the public baths, nor moved his hand from under his mantle when he appeared dreffed in public. while abroad and in the camp, he was fo hardy as always to go thin-clad and bare-footed, unless the frost was fevere; infomuch that the foldiers used to say in jest, " See, Pho-" cion has got his cloaths on, which is " a fign of a hard winter." Tho' of great humanity and very easy conversation, his appearance seemed to be morose and forbidding, fo that strangers seldom accosted For which reason, when the orator Chares treated him one day pretty roughly on account of his fupercilious looks, and the Athenians feemed pleased with him for it, Phocion replied, " The gravity of " my countenance never made any of you " fad; but the mirth of these sneerers has " cost you many a tear." In like manner Phocion's discourse was grave and nervous,

full of useful remarks with a sententious concifeness, awful and severe, however unpleasing: such a speaker was Phocion, as crowded much into little room. And to this probably Polyeuctus the Sphettian had an eye, when he faid, that Demosthenes indeed was the better orator, but Phocion the more powerful speaker, whose words, like fmaller coins, were to be estimated from the intrinsic value of the metal not from their bulk. He was fometimes obferved, when the theatre was crowded, to walk musing alone behind the scenes; which one of his friends once taking notice of, faid, Phocion, "You feem very " thoughtful." " I am so indeed, replied " he, for I am confidering how to retrench " fomething in a speech I am to deliver " to the Athenians." Demosthenes, who had entertained a thorough contempt for the other orators, used to whisper to his friends that were near him, when Phocion rose up to speak, " This is the pruning-" hook of my periods." A remark which b 2 perhaps

perhaps owing to the authority of the man: fince not only a word, but even a nod, from a person held in reverence for his goodness and virtue, is of more weight than the most elaborate speeches of others.

In his youth he served under Chabrias, then the Athenian general, whom he highly honoured, and by whom he was fully instructed in the military art. In return for which Phocion helped Chabrias to correct his temper, which was capricious: for though naturally phlegmatic and indolent, yet in the heat of action, he would be fo transported with precipitancy, as to throw himself headlong into danger beyond the most forward: a circumstance which indeed afterwards cost him his life in the island of Chios, where he determined to get in first with his galley, and make a descent in spite of the enemy. Phocion, being a man of temper, as well as of courage, had the dexterity fometimes to warm the general's phlegm, and at other times to cool the vehemence of his unfeasonable fury. For which perhaps

which reason Chabrias, being at bottom a good-natured man, loved him extremely, preferred him in the army, and by making use of his affistance, and taking his advice in the most important affairs, gave occafion to his being talked of throughout all Greece, particularly on the sea-engagement at Naxos, where Phocion acquired an universal reputation; for Chabrias had committed to him the command of the left fquadron, where the action was hottest, and the contest was decided by a fignal victory in favour of the Athenians. As this was the first victory they had obtained at fea with their own forces, and without the affistance of any other state, since the taking of their city, they were wonderfully elated with the success; they caressed Chabrias at an extraordinary rate, and began to confider Phocion as a person capable of the highest employments. Soon afterwards Chabrias fent Phocion to demand from the Islanders their quota of the charges of the war, and proffering a guard of b 3 twenty bushieds a

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twenty fail, Phocion told him, " If he " intended he should go against them as " enemies that force was infignificant; but if as friends and allies, one veffel " would be fufficient." Accordingly Phocion took a fingle galley; and having visited the cities, and treated with their governors in a frank and open manner, he returned to Athens with all the arrears due from the allies, which he shipped on board feveral galleys furnished by them for that purpose. Phocion's great regard for Chabrias did not terminate with the life of that general; but after his death he expressed a particular care for all his relations, especially his son Ctesippus, with whom he took all imaginable pains, and would gladly, if possible, have made him good for something: and tho' he knew him to be a refractory youth, yet he was not discouraged, but tried every method he could think of to reclaim and polish him. Once indeed in one of Phocion's expeditions, when the youngster behaved very impertinently, asking a thousand

a thousand improper questions, and, putting on the air of a general, took upon him to instruct Phocion himself; who was thereupon out of all patience, and cried out, "O Chabrias, Chabrias, I am now mak-"ing thee the highest acknowledgments for thy friendship towards me, whilst "I bear thus with the teazing blockhead "thy son."

Upon looking into public affairs and the managers of them, he found that the fwordsmen and those of the long robe had shared the administration among themfelves, as it were by lot, so as not to interfere with each other. The men of the long robe, fuch as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus and Hyperides were to manage the affemblies, register their votes, and publish their acts and edicts; of all which they made a gainful trade among them. The men of the blade, as Diopithes, Menestheus, Louthenes and Charetas, thro' their military employments, carved out fair proportions for b 4 themselves

themselves out of the public stock. Now Phocion was of opinion, that such a model of government as that of Pericles, Aristides and Solon, in which the same person acted both parts (in propounding laws and ordering the militia, that is, both as a general and a politician) was a more perfect, uniform and regular mixture, and would redound most to the general good and public safety.

Phocion having formed his thoughts on this model, tho' of himself he was inclined to peace and the public tranquillity, yet was engaged in more wars than any, not only of his cotemporary generals, but even of all that had gone before him; not that he was fond of, or courted military employments, but it was not in his temper to decline these, when called to them by the service of his country. For it is well known, that he was forty-five times chosen general of the Athenians, and was never once present at an election, but always nominated in his absence, and sent for to take

take the command upon him: fo that those who did not well confider, were furprifed to fee the people always prefer Phocion, who was fo far from humouring them, or courting their favour, that he always thwarted them. But so it was, as the great commonly use their jesters at table for their recreation, fo the Atgenians on flight occasions diverted themselves with their spruce fpeakers and trim orators; but when it came to dint of action, they were fo confiderate as to mark out the gravest and wisest men for public employments, however opposite to their fentiments. This he made no scruple to own one day, when a Delphic oracle was read in full affembly, informing them, " That the rest of the " citizens being unanimous, there was one " person among them so presumptuous " as to diffent from the general opinion." Upon which he rose up, and told them, " He was the person pointed at by the " oracle; and that they must look no " farther, fince in short he disliked all " their

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"their proceedings." Happening at another time to give his opinion in a case under debate, and finding that it was received with a general applause of the assembly, he was surprised, and turning round to some of his friends, he asked them, "If any thing silly or impertinent had "then escaped him?"

One day when the Athenians had agreed every man to contribute fomething towards the charges of a public facrifice, and he was importuned on that head, he bid them apply to the wealthy, " Since, " for his part, he should blush to be so " prodigal as to throw any thing away, " whilst he was in that man's books," at the same time pointing to Callicles the ufurer. Being still clamoured against and importuned, he told them the following ftory: " A certain white-livered fellow " intending for the wars, accordingly fet " out; but upon hearing the ravens croak " in his way, he threw down his arms, refolving to be quiet; but recollecting " himself

himself a little after, he adventured out

ce again, yet still hearing the same music,

" he made a full stop, faying, they might

" tear their throats with croaking, if

"they would, in hopes of a feaft, but,

" for his own part, he was refolved to

" fleep in a whole fkin."

The Athenians urging him at an unfeafonable time to fall on the enemy, he peremptorily refused them, and on being upbraided with pufillanimity, he told them, "Gentlemen, we understand one another very " well; you cannot make me valiant at this " time, nor can I make you wife." In time of fecurity, the people were very petulant and fevere upon him, demanding a ftrict account how the public treasure, &c. had been employed; in answer to this, he bid them, Be affured of their safety in the first so place, and the next, mind their good " husbandry." The passions of the populace, indeed, altered with their affairs, being extremely timorous and fubmiffive in time of danger; but when that was blown over, infolent, clamouring against Phocion

as one who envied them the honour of victory. To all which he made only this answer, "You are happy, my friends, "in having a leader, who knows your humour, otherwise you had long since been undone."

In a controverfy they had with the Bæotians about their boundary, which the Athenians were not for deciding by treaty, but seemed inclined to bring it to a rupture, he told them, " For my part, Gen-" tlemen, I think it advisable for you to " have a trial of skill at those weapons " you can best manage, namely your " tongues, and not your hands, at which " you are not fo ready." At another time, when they did not relish what he had proposed, and would not suffer him to go on, he faid, "You may force me to " act against my judgment, but never " shall force me to speak against my con-" science." Demosthenes the orator, who opposed him in the administration, told him one day, " The Athenians, Phocion,

" will kill thee some day or other in one of " their mad fits:" " And thee," replied Phocion, " if ever they come to be in a " wife one." As Polyeuctus the Sphettian was one day in excessive hot weather haranguing the people, and in a fet speech inciting them to declare war against Philip, being a very purfy corpulent man, he ran himself out of breath, and sweated to such a degree, that he was forced to drink feveral draughts of cold water before he could finish his discourse: which Phocion observing, "You ought, said he, to de-" clare war against Philip on the word of " this honest gentleman; for what may " you not expect from his prowefs, when " armed cap-a-pie he shall have marched " against the enemy, fince you see he " cannot fo much as repeat what he has " been composing at his leifure, without " runing the risk of suffocation and melt-" ing his greafe?" As the orator Lycurgus was one day fcurriloufly inveighing against him in an affembly, particularly for

for having advised the Athenians to deliver ten of their citizens as hostages to Alexander, who had sent to demand them, he stood up, and said: "I have indeed "in my time given the Athenians much good advice, but they never had the "wit to follow it."

One Achibiades, nick-named the Lace-demonian, as affecting their gravity, by wearing an overgrown shaggy beard, an old campaign-cloak, with a very formal countenance, on Phocion's being one day teazed in an assembly, and contradicted in every thing he said, he appealed to this man for the truth of what he advanced: but as he found, when he began to speak, that he soothed and wheedled with the predominant saction, taking him by the beard, he cried, "Nay, friend, if you "turn courtier, by all means off with "your gravity."

Aristogeiton the Sycophant was a mighty blusterer within doors, evermore founding the alarm, and inflaming the Atheni0

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ans to battle; but as foon as the musterroll came to be produced, and every man was to appear, and answer to his name, that it might be known who were fit and who were unfit for the service, Aristogeiton came into the affembly limping on a crutch, with a world of bandage round his leg, like a maimed foldier. Phocion fpying him afar off, cried out from his feat to the clerk, " Set down Aristogeiton " too as a poltroon and a cripple." It may furprise some, how a man so severe and fmart on all occasions as Phocion appears to have been, should notwithstanding acquire among the people the furname of "Good and Gentle." This may very well be accounted for, as we find it happens in some wines, where the sweet and four are equally and agreeably blend-Others, on the contrary, are like fome fruits, which are inviting to the eye, but to the taste are not only unpleasant, but unwholfome and pernicious. It is faid of Hyperides the Orator, that when

at any time he had been four and farcaftical in the affembly, he would excuse himself to the Athenians by desiring them to " consider if in that bitterness of his " he could have any view to his own pri-" vate advantage." As if the people were to reject and avoid only those whom avarice had made troublesome and disagreeable, and not rather fuch as made an ill use of their authority in order to gratify their pride, envy, anger or ambition. But Phocion had no personal pique at any man, nor indeed reputed any one his enemy, but fuch as opposed his proposals for the public good, in which argument he was most tenacious and inflexible. His conversation in general was easy, courteous and obliging to every body, fo far as to befriend all forts of people in diftress, and even to espouse the cause of those who had most opposed him, whenever they fell under any calamity and wanted his friendship and patronage. Upon his friends reproaching him for pleading

pleading in behalf of a bad man, he told them "the innocent had no occasion "for an advocate*." Aristogeiton, the sycophant, having been convicted and fined in a large sum to the public, sent to Phocion, desiring earnestly to speak with him in prison where he lay confined. His friends dissuaded him from going; but he told them, "I know no place where "I would so willingly chuse to give Ari-"stogeiton a meeting."

Whenever any admiral besides Phocion was sent to those friends and allies of the Athenians that inhabited the maritime towns and to the islanders, they treated him as an enemy, barricadoed their gates, blocked up their harbours, drove their

cattle

⁽¹⁾ Tho' this faying of Phocion be founded on an undeniable maxim, namely, That justice and innocence are a sure protection to good men; yet the contrary principle may be opposed to it: since the good often want to be desended against the prosecutions of the wicked; and they are the wicked only who ought never to be desended.

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cattle off the country, and put them with their flaves, wives and children into garrison; but upon Phocion's coming to them, they went out to welcome him in their shallops and barges, with streamers and garlands, and received him at landing with all demonstrations of joy and triumph.

King Philip having an eye upon Eubæa, which he was in hopes of getting by furprife, ordered a body of Macedonians to march that way, and gained over the cities to his interest by the management of the tyrants, who had the government in their hands, and were glad of his protection. Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria called in the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver the island out of the hands of the Macedonians, who had already possessed themselves of it. Phocion was instantly dispatched with only a small force, because it was expected that all the islanders would join him immediately upon his arrival. But upon trial, he found the whole island betrayed and corrupted, and that

that every thing had been bought and fold by Philip's penfioners; fo that he ran the greatest risque imaginable. In order to fecure himself the best he could, he feized on a fmall rifing ground, feparated from the plain of Tamynas by a deep ditch. This he fortified, and inclosed therein the choicest of his army. When the enemy drew nigh, he commanded them to stand to their arms, whilst he went to facrifice, in which he spent a considerable time, either as he could not find an auspicious omen, or on purpose to draw the enemy nearer. Plutarch, interpreting this tardiness of Phocion as a failure in his courage, fell on with the auxiliaries only, which the cavalry perceiving, could not be contained, but iffuing also out of the camp in confusion and disorder, spurred up to the enemy. By this means the van was worsted, the rest easily dispersed, and Plutarch himself run away. A body of the enemy thinking the day was their own, marched up to the very camp, where they C 2

they endeavoured to level the intrenchment, and make themselves master of it. By this time the facrifice was ended, when the Athenians rushing out of their camp, fell upon the affailants, killed many of them in the intrenchments they were throwing up, and constrained the rest to fly. Phocion ordered the main body to keep their ground, and cover fuch as had been routed in the first attack and had disbanded; whilst he, with a select party, charged upon the main body of the enemy. The fight was obstinate, both fides behaving with great intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thullus fon of Cyneas, and Glaucus fon of Polymedes, who both fought near the general's person, signalized themselves in the action. phanes also acquired great reputation from the service he performed on this occasion: for he recalled the horse that had fled, and earnestly exhorted them to return to the fuccour of their general, whose person was in imminent danger; fo that he brought

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brought them to rally, and renew the charge, which confirmed the victory to the Athenians.

As foon as the fight was over, Phocion drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and possessed himself of a commodious fort called Zeratra, advantageously situated in that part of the island where it is contracted into a neck of land which the sea washes on each side. He would not suffer any of the Grecians to be taken prisoners, lest the orators at Athens should one time or other stir up the people to exercise their vengeance upon them, and use them cruelly.

The affair being thus dispatched and settled, Phocion sails homeward, having given very evident tokens of his justice and humanity to the allies, and to the Athenians incontestable proofs of his courage and conduct; for his successor Molossus managed the war with so great indiscretion, as to fall alive into the enemy's hands. This encouraged Philip of Macedon, whose hopes were great and

proportionate to his defigns and enterprises, to move down towards the Hellespont with all his forces, not doubting but in that favourable conjuncture he should easily make himself master of the Cherfonefus, Perinthus and Byzantium. Hereupon the Athenians raising recruits, in order to relieve them, the demagogues made it their bufiness to prefer Chares to the chief command, who, failing thither, performed nothing worthy of such an armament; nor would the confederates harbour his fleet, as having a jealoufy of him; so that he did nothing but cruise about like a pyrate, pillaging their friends, and withal despised by their enemies. On this occasion the people, roused by the orators, were in a high ferment, and repented of their having fent any fuccours to the Byzantines: hereupon Phocion rifing up, told them, "You have not fo much " reason, my masters, to be concerned at " the jealousies of your friends, as at the " unfaithfulness of your own generals, " who

"who render you suspected, even to " those who yet cannot possibly subsist " without your fuccours." The affembly, being moved with this speech, changed their minds all on a fudden, and ordered him to raise more forces immediately, and affift their confederates in the Hellespont. This choice of Phocion contributed more than any thing else to the preservation of Byzantium; for Phocion's reputation was then very high, and Cleon a person of the first rank in Byzantium, on account of his virtue as well as authority, having contracted an intimate friendship with Phocion, whilst they were fellow-students in the academy, became answerable to the city for his conduct: whereupon they opened their gates to receive him, not fuffering him, tho' he defired it, to encamp without the walls, but entertained him and all the Athenians with entire respect; whilst they, to requite this confidence, converfed with their new hosts, not only foberly and inoffensively, but behaved on all

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all occasions with great chearfulness and resolution for their defence. By this means king Philip came to be driven out of the Hellespont, where he suffered much in his reputation, as being before that thought to be invincible. Phocion took some of his ships, and recovered several places which he had taken and garrisoned. He also made many incursions into Philip's territories, over-runing the flat country and raising contributions; but being at length opposed by some forces, which were sent against him, he was wounded in a skirmish, and obliged to retire.

Some time after this, the Megareans privately supplicating the Athenians for aid, and Phocion fearing lest the Bæotians, being aware of it, should prevent them, he called an assembly very early in the morning, and backing the petition of the Megareans, it was put to the vote, and carried in their favour. As soon as it was done, he made proclamation by sound of trumpet for the Athenians to

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arm, and putting himself at their head, led them directly to Megara, where they were joyfully received. He immediately fortified the haven of Nisea, raised two new walls between that and the city, and by this means joined the city to the sea: so that being sufficiently defended on the land-side from the assailants, it continued secure to the Athenians.

The Athenians having declared open war against Philip, and in Phocion's abfence chosen other generals for this service, as foon as he arrived from the islands, he earnestly pressed the people, since Philip was defirous of being at peace with them, and he for his own part was very apprehenfive of the issue of the war, to accept of the conditions which had been offered them. And when one of those sycophants who fpend their whole time in the courts of justice, hatching suits and accusing all mankind, asked him, " Darest thou, " Phocion, think of disfuading the Athe-" nians from the war, now the sword is " drawn?"

"I am fatisfied I shall be thy master * in "time of war, and thou perhaps mine "in time of peace." Upon finding that he could not prevail, but that Demosthenes's opinion carried it, who advised the Athenians to engage Philip as far off as they could from Attica, Phocion made answer, "Let us not be so careful about "the place where we are to engage, as "how to get the victory: that is the "only way to keep the war at a distance; "whereas if we are overcome, the worst of calamities will soon be at our very doors."

The Athenians however lofing the day, and the innovators and incendiaries beckoning up Charidemus to the tribunal, i

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^{*} This is an inftance of a true patriot and a man of honour, who is earnest for peace, tho' he knew it will subject him to his inferiors; and against the continuance of war, tho' whilst this lasts, he is sure of commanding. Modern times have produced men of quite other fentiments.

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in order to be nominated to the command, the wifest and best men in the city were startled at the motion; wherefore joining the fenate of the Areopagus to the assembly, they with many tears and intreaties at length prevailed, that the custody of the city should be committed to Phocion. This point being fettled, he declared it as his opinion, that the regulations and favourable terms offered by Philip were to be received: but Demades the orator making a motion, that the city of Athens should be comprehended in the general peace, and admitted into the affembly of Greece, Phocion opposed it, and infifted * that it ought first to be known, what it was Philip would demand in that affembly. But the times were then too much against him to let his advice be followed, for which the Athenians foon

^{*} For Phocion had just reason to apprehend, that Philip's demands would be very high; and that the Athenians would be obliged on their parts to submit to them when once the peace was made, and they comprised in it: what follows will make this passage still clearer.

after sufficiently repented, when they understood, that by those articles they were obliged to furnish Philip both with horse and shipping. "This, gentlemen, says he, I foresaw, and therefore opposed: but fince now you have articled, make the best of it, be courageous and bear it as well as you can, remembering, that your ancestors by using their fortune with an even hand, sometimes giving law, and at other times submitting the behaved themselves with decorum in each station; and so preserved not only their own city, but the rest of Greece."

Upon the news of Philip's death, Phocion would not suffer the people to sacrifice, or give any other public demonstrations of joy on that occasion; " For

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[†] This remonstrance contains in it a very useful leffon, which ought to be studied and put in practice by all those who have the management of public affairs. There are rules to be observed in an inserior, as well as superior station, without which every thing tends to consusion, and no peace can be lasting.

" nothing, faid he, can be a greater

" mark of a mean spirit than to rejoice

" at the misfortune of others: besides,

" you are to remember, that the army

" against which you fought at Cheronea

" is lessened only by one man."

When Demosthenes made invectives against Alexander, who was now set down before Thebes, he repeated those verses of Homer:

- "What boots the godlike giant to provoke,
- " Whose arm may fink us at a fingle stroke?"

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- "What is this, continued he, but ad-
- " ding fresh fuel to the fire, and pushing
- " forwards into the flames, which are
- " already devouring the neighbourhood?
- " For my own part, I will not consent
- " to your destroying yourselves, tho' you
- " should court me to it: and for this
- " end only have I continued in my com-
- " mand."

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After Thebes was loft, and Alexander had demanded Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus to be delivered up to him, the whole affembly turning their eyes often and entirely upon Phocion, and also calling on him by name to deliver his opinion, he at last rose up, and at the same time shewing them his friend Nicocles, the person of all others the dearest to him, and in whom he most confided, he spoke to them in this manner: " Those whom Alexander now de-" mands of you, are they who have " brought you into these miserable cir-" cumftances, indeed fo miferable, that " if he demanded this friend of mine, " whom I love fo cordially, even him, "innocent as he is, I should be for de-" livering him up to him. Nay, if my " own life could purchase your safety, I " would refign it with chearfulness: for " truly it pierces my heart to fee those " who are fled hither for fuccour from " the desolation of Thebes; and furely

" it will be more for the common interest,

" that we deprecate the conqueror, and

" intercede for both, than run the ha-

" zard of another battle."

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We are told that the first decree which passed in this assembly was rejected by Alexander, he turning his back on the ambaffadors who prefented it. But when Phocion came to present the second he received him graciously; for he had been told by those of the longest standing in his court, that his father Philip had a great value for him. Wherefore he not only gave him a favourable audience, and granted his request, but listened likewise to his advice. For Phocion told him, " If he was defirous of repose, he had " then an honourable opportunity of " laying down his arms; but if glory " was the end he proposed by them, he " ought to divert them from Greece, and " turn them against the Barbarians." Having thus dropt feveral things in his discourse

discourse, * which he knew to be agreeable to Alexander's humor and genius, he fo won upon the king, and foftened his temper, that Alexander told him, "The " Athenians ought to have their eyes " about them, for in case he should mis-" carry, they alone were worthy to com-" mand." In short, that prince was fo taken with Phocion's conversation, that he contracted an intimate friendship with him, which was strengthened by the mutual ties of hospitality, and conferred such honours upon him, as few of those near his person received. The historians of that time even tell us, that after Alexander had defeated Darius, and thereby attained to the highest point of human grandeur, he

omitted

^{*} Nothing can be a greater instance of Phocion's good sense and dexterity in state-affairs, than his conduct in this negociation, wherein he made a right use of Alexander's bent and inclination, and with a wonderful address got the war to be removed from his country. The way to succeed on such occasions is to get acquainted with the character and temper of those with whom we are to treat, and steer accordingly.

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omitted the word "Greeting" in all his letters, except only in those directed to Phocion and Antipater. As for Alexander's magnificence to him, it is well known that at one time he fent him a present of a hundred talents, which being brought to Athens, Phocion asked the officers entrusted with it, how it came to pass that he alone, among all the rest of the Athenians, should be so highly obliged to his bounty? When being told, that Alexander looked upon him as the only person of honour and worth, " May it please " him then, faid Phocion, to permit me " to continue fo, and be still reputed " fuch." They however followed him to his house, and observing his * plain me-

* And yet this is the man, who had been general so often in the service of his country, and gained so many victories. This instance, one would think, might be sufficient to convince us, that the greatest simplicity is consistent with the highest pitch of elevation; and that luxury is the offspring of a degenerate mind.

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thod of living, his wife employed in the pastry-work with her own hands, and himself pumping water to wash his feet, they pressed him to accept of the present, being ashamed, as they said, that a person fo highly in favour with fuch a great prince should live so meanly. Phocion taking notice of a poor old fellow in a tattered coat passing by at the same time, asked them, " If they thought him worse " than that poor wretch?" They begged his pardon for the comparison: "Yet, " fays he, this man has less * to live on " than I, and is content. In short, I " must tell you, if this sum be more than " I can use, it is altogether superfluous; " and if I live up to it, I shall thereby " give cause of jealousy, both of your

" master

^{*} It being an act of virtue to be contented with a little, this poor man would have had the advantage of Phocion, and confequently been more excellent than him, if Phocion had not been fatisfied with his lot, but been gaping after more. This was the observation of a wife man indeed.

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master and myself to the rest of the " citizens." Thus the treasure was returned from Athens, giving the Grecians an illustrious example how much truly richer that man is, who by contracting his defires, has no occasion for more than he who by the largeness of his fortune is capable of the largest munificence. At this refusal Alexander was displeased, and writ to Phocion again, acquainting him, "That he could not reckon those his " friends who thought much to be " obliged by him." Yet neither would this prevail with Phocion to accept of the money; but he made use of his favour to intercede for Echecratides the fophist, and Athenodorus the Imbrian, as also for Demaratus and Sparton, two Rhodians who had been convicted of certain crimes, and were in custody at Sardis. Alexander immediately granted his request, and they were fet at liberty. Afterwards Alexander fending Craterus into Macedonia, he commanded him to offer Phocion his choice

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of one of these four cities in Asia, namely, Cio, Gergetho, Mylassis, or Elea, and it should be delivered him: and withal to assure Phocion, that he would highly refent it, if he continued obstinate in his refusal; but Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died soon after.

Phocion's house was shewn even down to Plutarch's days in a village, called Melita, covered with copper, otherwife plain and homely. With regard to his two wives, there is little faid of the first, fave only that she was fifter of Cephisodotus the statuary. The second was a matron of no less reputation for virtue and good housewifry among the Athenians, than Phocion was for probity. It happened once when the people were to be entertained with a new tragedy, just as the play was ready to begin, one of the principal actors, who was to perform the part of a queen, wanted a habit fuitable for that purpose, as also several showy dreffes

dresses for her majesty's maids of honour, or attendants. And when Melanthus, who was at the charge of the entertainment, did not supply him, he grew angry, refused to go on, and so kept the audience in fuspence, till Melanthus, provoked at his impertinence, pushed him by force upon the stage, at the same time telling him, " See there Phocion's wife, she can ap-" pear in public with only one fervant-" maid attending her; whilst you, for-" footh, with your finery, are for giving " an ill example, and filling our women's " heads with nothing but pride and vani-" ty?" This speech of Melanthus being heard was received with wonderful applause, and clapped by the audience round the theatre. The same plain lady, entertaining at her house a stranger, a very gay dame of Ionia, who showed her all her ornaments, gold, embroidery, rich jewels, bracelets, necklaces and the like: " For my " part, fays Phocion's wife, my only " ornament is my good man, who has " comd 3 -10000

" commanded the Athenians now these twenty years."

Phocion's fon (Phocus) was very defirous to make one at the exercises performed at Athens * every fifth year in honour of Minerva: this his father permitted him to do, provided † it was in the foot-races; not that he was over-fond to have his son win the prize, but in hopes that this exercise might at the same time serve to strengthen his body and reform his manners, for he was naturally addicted

* This was one of the principal festivals of the Athenians, and called Panathenea, of which there was the greater and the less: the latter was celebrated the 20th of Thargelion (June) in honour of Apollo and Diana: the former in the month Hecatombeon (August). The first was opened with chariot-races, after which were other trials of skill, as wrestling, soot-racing, vaulting, &c.

† The beauty of this passage seems not to have been fully understood, and therefore wants some explanation. Phocion's son asked his father leave to enter the lists at the session. Phocion knowing his vanity, and that he did not desire that permission, but that he might have an oppor-

ted to wine and debauch. Phocus obtained the victory, and many of his friends importuning Phocion that they might have leave to give an entertainment in honour of the conqueror, this favour, which was demanded by many, was granted only to one, who was allowed to give that testimony of his attachment to Phocion's family. When Phocion came to this treat, and found it very extravagant in all respects, even the water brought

opportunity of flaunting it in a gaudy chariot, granted his request, but with this express provision, that he should put in only for the foot-race. Plutarch's manner of expressing this is fine and elegant. Phocus wanted to make one in the chariot-courses, but his father would not suffer him to contend any otherwise but on foot; for he made him descend from the chariot, of which he was so full in his imagination, and anosarm equipment, "Sent him, after being alighted from his chariot, in order to fight on foot," that is sent him back with permission to contend only in the foot-race. In this Phocion did his son a double piece of service; he mortisied his vanity, and at the same time put him under a necessity of hardening himself by exercise.

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to wash the guests feet being mingled with wine and spices, he reprimanded his fon, asking him, " Why he would so far " permit his friends to fully the honour " of his victory?" The father very earneftly defiring to reclaim this fon, and wean him from that habit of luxury and lasciviousness which he had contracted, for that end fent him to Lacedemon, and placed him among the youth, who are there brought up in the severity of the Spartan discipline. At this the Athenians took offence, as if Phocion despised the education at home; and Demades the the orator twitted him with it publickly, telling him, "Why, Phocion, do we not " perfuade the Athenians to receive the " Laconian manners and discipline? If " you would please to have it so, I am " ready for my part to propose such a " law." "Yes, indeed, answered Pho-" cion, it would extremely become you, " who are so powdered and perfumed, " with that revelling garb on your back,

" to speech it in praise of Lycurgus, and

" invite the Athenians to a parsimonious

" hard fare."

When Alexander had fent to demand the galleys, which the Athenians had agreed to furnish him with, the orator opposed the sending of them: and the assembly requiring Phocion to deliver his opinion, he told them, that, for his own part, he thought, "till they had made "themselves the most powerful, they ought to live in friendship with those who were so."

Pytheas the orator, who had just * begun to speak in public, soon took upon him to hold forth with much considence and boldness; and as he was one day tiring the assembly with his chatter, "It "will become thee, said Phocion, to be "filent, thou who art but a novice

^{*} To understand this, it was required, that a man should be of a certain age, before he was admitted to speak in the popular assemblies, as is evident from Demosthenes's orations.

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" amongst us." When Harpalus, to whose custody Alexander had committed the treasures of Babylon, had conveyed himself out of Asia, and repaired with his immense wealth to Athens, mercenary and hungry orators immediately flocked in crowds to him, full of hopes, and with earnest offers of their service. To these Harpalus made fome fmall prefents by way of retainers: but to Phocion he fent no less than seven hundred talents with large promises, and an offer of committing himself and all his affairs to his difpofal. Phocion answered very roughly those he had fent, threatening to take other measures with him, if he went on thus corrupting the people. At this anfwer Harpalus was terrified, and for the present desisted.

Some time after, when the Athenians were deliberating in council about Harpalus, he found that those who had tasted of his bounty had changed their tone, and become his greatest enemies, aggravating matters

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matters against him; which they did in order to take off all suspicion of their late commerce with him: but that Phocion, who had clean hands, shewed as much concern for him as was confistent with the public interest and safety. This encouraged him once more to feel his pulse, and attack him; but he found him like a strong fortress, every way so defended, that even the golden key could gain no admittance, being on all fides inaccessible and impregnable. Yet Harpalus having made a particular friendship and intimacy with Charicles, Phocion's fonin-law, brought him into fome fuspicion; for it is plain he placed an entire confidence in Charicles, and made use of him in all his affairs, infomuch that he employed him to erect a magnificent monument to Pythonica (whom Q. Curtius calls Pothymia) the courtesan, whom he tenderly loved, whilst she lived, and had a daughter

a daughter by her *. This commission, scandalous enough in itself, became more so in the manner of its execution: for the monument, says Plutarch, is still to be seen at + Hermeus, (Hermes) in the road between Athens and Eleusis; and nothing appears in it answerable to the sum of thirty talents, which was the charge Charicles made on Harpalus. After Harpalus's own decease, his daughter was

* This was indeed an office too mean for one who had the honour to be the fon-in-law of Phocion, the general of the Athenians; but it was more shameful for him to cheat Harpalus, who had employed him, by charging much more to his account than had been expended.

† "On the other side of the river Cephisus, says Pauvanias, are to be seen two monuments remarkable for their size and decorations. The one is for a Rho-dian, who went to settle at Athens; and the other for Pythonica, a celebrated courtesan, with whom Harpalus was so desperately in love, that, after her death, he caused this monument to be erected to her memory," which, of all the antient works in Greece, may be esteemed in its kind the most persect performance.

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carefully educated by Phocion and Charicles. Some time after, Charicles being called to an account for the money which he had received of Harpalus, he had recourse to Phocion, entreating him to appear in his behalf at his trial, and help him to make his defence. This Phocion flatly refused, telling him, "He would espouse his cause, as his son-in-law, only in things * worthy and honour-

* Plutarch, in his comparison of Phocion with Cato the Younger, says of the latter: " Cato professed a se-" vere inflexible justice, that was never to be mollified " either by favour or affection;" while that which Phocion observed was more humane and gentle. And yet this very auftere and inflexible Roman, the declared enemy of fuch as bought fuffrages, in order to carry their elections, raised a sharp prosecution against Murena, for having got himself declared consul by dint of money, but spared the other conful Silanas, tho' he was full as guilty as his colleague, because, forfooth, he was his brother-in-law! Phocion, tho' less severe, was more just, when he refused to stand by Charicles his son-inlaw, who was called to account for the money he had received of Harpalus, and returned him this fine answer, "It is true, I have made thee my fon-in-law, but it is " only in things just and honourable,"

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About this time Asclepiades, son of Hipparchus, brought the first tidings of Alexander's death to Athens, which Demades told them was not to be credited: " For were it true, faid he, the whole " world would before this have fmelt * " the carcafe." Phocion, perceiving his defign of innovating and stirring up the people to fedition, endeavoured to prevent and restrain them; but several crowding up to the bench, and crying aloud, that what Asclepiades had related was true, " Well then, says Phocion, suppose it " fo; for if it be true to-day, it will be as true to-morrow and the next day: cion obleved was more humane and gentle, o'Andeyet

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^{*} What an eulogy is this upon Alexander! This figurative expression denotes the extent of his empire, as if the whole earth were under his dominion: at the same time imagination is astonished at the height of the hyperbole. Demetrius Phalerius was thoroughly sensible of its beauty, his sine remark on it puts it in a true light: he makes it appear, that what makes the expression seem so grave and terrible is, that those sew words contain in them the emphasis, allegory, and hyperbole.

" fo that we have time enough to debate " coolly and deliberately."

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When Leosthenes had by his artifices drawn the Athenians headlong into the war, called the Grecian war *, and found, that Phocion was very much offended at it, he asked him scoffingly, "What ser-" vice he had done the Athenians, during "the long time he had been their cap-" tain-general?" "And dost thou think it nothing, replied Phocion, that all "the citizens who have died in that time have been buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors?" But Leosthenes still continuing to huff and swagger in the assembly, "Young man, says Phocion, "your language is like cypres-trees, tall

" and

^{*} Tho' indeed it stands thus in the original, Xylander and Cruserius have very justly observed, that it ought to be "Lamiack war," which was undertaken by all the communities in Greece, except the Bæotians, in desence of the liberty of Greece, under the conduct of Leosthenes against Antipater, whom they deseated and cooped up in the city of Lamia, whence it was called the Lamiack war. DIOD. SIC. book xviii.

" and topping, but without fruit." Hyperides standing up, asked him, "When, " Phocion, wilt thou advise the Athe-" nians to make war?" To which he replied, "When I shall find the younger " fort tractable and observant of disci-" pline; the wealthy forward in their " contributions; and the orators for-" bearing to rob and plunder the public." When many admired the forces raised, and the preparations which Leosthenes made for war, they asked Phocion how he approved of the new levies? "Very " well, fays he, for the course, but I " am afraid of the * return, the com-" monwealth being wholly destitute of " treasure, shipping, and seamen for the expe-

* Much of the beauty of this expression in the original is lost when translated in any other language. The Grecians had two sorts of races: the first was the single race (sadiov) when they run from the starting-place to the end of the course: the other (diagon) was, when the racers ran to the end of the course and back again to the starting-place. Phocion thought this army very

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expedition." And the event justified his prognostic; yet at first every thing appeared fair and promising, Leosthenes gained reputation by worsting the Bæotians in battle, and driving Antipater within the walls of Lamia. The citizens were fo transported with this success, that for it they kept solemn festivals, and instituted public facrifices to the Gods of victory: fo that some, to reproach Phocion for being of a contrary opinion, asked him, whether now he would not willingly be author of this fuccessful action to the public? "Yes, verily, fays he, " most gladly: yet still I would not but " have been author of the advice which "I have given you." When one express

fine, and well enough appointed to run the fingle race and stop there; but he was doubtful about the return, or double race, as indeed the end did not answer the beginning. Thus Phocion had good reason to say, But I fear the return of the war." To how many undertakings may this be applied!

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after another came from the camp, confirming and magnifying the victories which had been obtained: " Nay then fure, " fays he, we shall never have done slay-" ing." Leosthenes died foon after: and those who feared lest, if Phocion obtained the command, he would be for putting an end to the war, dealt with an obscure fellow who stood up in the assembly, and told the Athenians, " That he was an " intimate friend of Phocion; that he " had been his school-fellow; that they " ought to be careful of him, and reserve " him for the most pressing occasions and " times of the greatest exigency: for " which reason he moved, that Anti-" philus might be fent to command the " army." The Athenians came readily into the motion: upon which Phocion stood up, and told them, "That he had " never been that man's school-fellow; " that he was so far from being a friend " of his, that he had not so much as the least acquaintance with him: yet se now,

"now, Sir, continued he, addressing himself to that person, give me leave to put you down among the number of my best friends, since you have advised that which of all things in the world is the most agreeable to me."

The Athenians being violently bent upon profecuting the war against the Bæotians, Phocion did from the first as violently oppose it; and when one of his friends cautioned him, and told him that this inflexible opposition of his might protoke them to put him to death, he replied, " If they do put me to death, "it will be unjustly, if what I advise be " for the good of the public; but justly, " if I advise otherwise." When he saw, that in spite of all he could say or do; they still persisted, and grew more clamorous against him, he commanded proclamation to be made, "That all the " Athenians, from the age of fixteen to " fixty, should furnish themselves with " five days provisions, and immediately " follow e 2 battle.

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" follow him from the assembly." This caused a great tumult; those in years were startled, and clamoured against the order: upon which he demanded wherein he had injured them, "For I, fays he, " who am fourfcore, am ready to lead " you." This foftened them for the prefent, and cooled the zeal which they had before expressed for the war: but when Micion had not long after, at the head of a strong party of Macedonians and mercenaries, pillaged the coasts and made a descent upon Rhamnus, Phocion marched out against him with the Athenians. On this occasion, when every one took upon him to advise what he thought fit, and acted the part of a commander, " Let " that rifing ground be fecured, faid one; " let the horse be posted there, said an-" other; let that ground be marked out " for the camp, faid a third: good God, " faid he, how many generals have we " here, and how few foldiers!" Having afterwards drawn up the Athenians in battlears he ead ad en of a ed On on nd et e; nut od, ng

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battle-array, one of them, who would be thought forward, advanced out of his rank before the rest; at the same time one from the enemy's fide advanced likewife, in order to encounter him; but the Athenian's heart failed him, and he retired back into his rank: for this Phocion reproved him, telling him "Youngster, " are you not ashamed twice in one day " to defert your station, both where I " had placed you, and where you had " placed yourfelf." But Phocion falling on the enemy with great bravery, routed them, killing Micion and many more on the fpot. He afterwards defeated the Grecian army which lay in Theffaly, where Leonatus had joined Antipater and the Macedonians who were newly come from Afia: Leonatus was killed in the battle, Antiphilus commanding the foot, and Menon the Thessalian horse, Not long after, Craterus coming out of Afia with a powerful army, there happened another engagement near Cranaon

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overthrown. This loss, which was not very great, was chiefly owing to the stubbornness of the soldiers, the youth and inexperience of the officers, who knew not how to make themselves obeyed: but this joined to Antipater's intrigues, who had practised underhand with the cities, made the Grecians shamefully betray the liberty of their country.

Upon the news of Antipater's approaching Athens with all his forces, Demosthenes and Hyperides deserted the city: but Demades, who was in no condition to pay any part of the fines which had been laid upon him for exhibiting no less than seven bills, all contrary to law, and for which he had been degraded and rendered incapable of speaking or voting in the assembly, taking his advantage from the present distractions, proposed a decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, with sull powers to enter into a treaty with him: but the people, who were now become

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come very jealous, and knew not whom to trust, called out with one voice for Phocion, declaring that he was the only person fit to be entrusted with so important a commission. Upon this Phocion rose up, and faid, " If my advice " had been of any weight with you here-" tofore, we now would have had no need "to debate upon affairs of this confe-" quence." The vote however passed; and a decree was made, that he, and some others, should be deputed to Antipater, who then lay encamped at Cadmea *, but intended fuddenly to diflodge and pass into Attica. Phocion's first proposal was, that the peace might be concluded and ratified before Antipater quitted that camp: this Craterus exclaimed against as unreasonable, and declared, that they ought not to oppress the country of their friends and allies by their stay there, fince they might but would be fence

rather

^{*} Bæotia as well as the citadel of Thebes was called admea.

rather use that of their enemies, for provisions and the support of their army: but Antipater, taking him by the hand, said, "It is true, but let us grant this boon out of respect to Phocion." And as to the rest, he bid them return to their principals, and acquaint them, that he would grant them no other terms, than what he himself had received from Leosthenes, the then Athenian general, when he was shut up in Lamia.

Phocion returned to the city; and reported this answer or demand to the Athenians, who made a virtue of necessity, and
complied. So Phocion returned to Thebes
with other ambassadors, and among the
rest Zenocrates the philosopher, the reputation of whose wisdom and prudence
was so celebrated among the Athenians,
that they thought there was not that man
living so brutal, barbarous, and void of
common humanity, but would be struck
with respect and reverence for him at his
first appearance: but the contrary happened,

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pened, thro' the infolence and brutality of Antipater's disposition, who embracing all the rest of his companions, passed * Zenocrates by, not deigning so much as to salute him, or take the least notice of him: upon which occasion Zenocrates said, "Antipater does well to distinguish me from the rest by not taking notice of me, and to be ashamed before me only of the injuries which he is going to do the Athenians." As soon as the phi-

* Antipater treated him with more civility once before, when he was fent ambaffador to ranfom the prifoners he had taken. The very day he arrived, Antipater invited him to supper; and on his pressing Zenocrates to eat, and partake of the delicacies set before him,
he answered in these lines which Homer makes Ulysses
speak to Circe, in his tenth book of the Odyssey:

Ill fits it me, whose friends are sunk to beasts,

To quaff thy bowls, or riot in thy feasts.

Me wouldst thou please? For them thy cares employ,

And them to me restore, and me to joy. POPE:

Antipater was then so charmed with his presence of mind, and lucky application of those lines, that he re-leased all the prisoners.

losopher

losopher began to speak, Antipater thwarted and interrupted him, not fuffering him to proceed, but enjoined him filence. Hereupon when Phocion declared the purport of their embassy, Antipater replied short and peremptorily, he would make a league with the Athenians, on the following terms, and no other: "That " Demosthenes and Hyperides should be " delivered up to him; that the antient " method of raising taxes in the city be " observed; that the Athenians should " receive a garrison from him into My-" nichia; defray the charges of the war; " indemnify the damages fustained; and " be subject to farther impositions." As matters then flood, these terms were judged tolerable by the rest of the ambasiadors: but Zenocrates said, " If Antipater looks " upon us as flaves, these terms are rea-" fonable; if as free-men, they are in-" tolerable." Phocion pressed Antipater with much earnestness only to spare the garrison, and for that purpose used several losopher argun

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arguments and entreaties: Antipater replied, " I will deny thee nothing, Pho-" cion, but what will inevitably tend to "thy ruin * and my own." Others fay Antipater asked Phocion, " If he would be answerable for the good behaviour " of the Athenians, provided he did not " infift upon that article of the garrison; "and undertake for their performance " of the articles, without attempting any " innovations?" To which Phocion demurred, and made no return: on the fudden Callimedon, a hot-headed man and professed enemy to free states, rose up, asking Antipater, if he would suffer himfelf to be juggled with, and have his confidence abused so far as not to act what he himself thought most expedient? Thus the Athenians were constrained to receive Antipater's garrifon commanded by

^{*} By this Antipater gave him to understand, that if he suffered the people to be masters in Athens, it might not only prove his ruin, but probably his death; and the event showed, that he was right in his conjecture.

Manullos.

Menyllus, a man of unblemished character and one of Phocion's acquaintance.

This proceeding seemed sufficiently imperious and arbitrary, or rather indeed a spiteful insult and idle oftentation * of power, than any real advantage to Antipater in his affairs. The resentment of this usage was heightened by the season in which it happened: for the garrison entered Mynichia exactly on the twentieth of the month Boedromion, just at the time of the great session, when Jacchus (Bacchus) was carried with great pomp from the city to Eleusina; so that the solemnity being thus disturbed, many

fell to busined with, and have h

^{*} It does not appear wherein this proceeding was an oftentation of power: for did not that garrison secure the oligarchic interest in Athens, and support the nobility against the enterprizes of the populace? In this it was not empty oftentation, but a matter which really conduced to the views and designs of Antipater. The event proved it; and we shall immediately see Phocion himself consess, that the people were more moderate and tractable, whilst they were kept in awe by that garrison.

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began to recollect what had happened at the celebration of those rites both in ancient and modern times: "For of old, "in our greatest * prosperity, said they, "the Gods manifested themselves in our favour during the celebration of these "mysteries, in mystic visions and voices, "which struck terror and amazement into our enemies: but now, at the same feason, the Gods themselves stand witnesses of the extreme oppressions of Greece, the holy season being prophaned, and the greatest jubilee made the unlucky date of our greatest cala-"mities." Not many years before the

^{*} This passage seems to carry with it a secret accufation of the Gods, as if they shewed themselves in savour of the Athenians in times of their greatest prosperity, but withdrew from them when overwhelmed by
their calamities; which is an impious thought. But
there is a manuscript which has a different reading:
instead of (ἐν τοῖς ἀρίσοις ἐντυχήμασιν) " in our greatest
" prosperity," it stands there (ἐν τοῖς μεγίσοις ἀτυχήμασιν)
" in our greatest adversities:" for no state is in the
height of its prosperity, when it is surrounded by its
enemies,

oracle at Dodona had warned the Athenians carefully to guard the *promontory of Diana, and secure it against the possession of strangers. Many bad omens were observed about this time; among others this, that whilst a priest was washing a pocket in the haven, where the water was sweet and clear, a shark seized on him, bit off all his hinder parts to the belly and devoured them: by which the

enemies, as was the case now. This way of reasoning by the Athenians is very proper to the occasion: "Heretosore in the midst of our calamities the Gods manifested themselves in our favour during this so- lemn festival, and during the same season; but at a "time when we are fallen into greater calamities than ever, they hide themselves from us, &c." There are not reasons wanting to justify the reading in the text; but that in the manuscript seems the true one, which may be confirmed by history.

* It does not appear, that there was any such promontory in Attica as the promontory of Diana: but the words of the oracle are poetical, and call those promontories the promontories of Diana, on account of the mountains and forests near them, which of right, according to mythology, are under the protection of this goddels.

ericinies.

Athenians

Athenians imagined, that the Gods gave them apparently to understand, that having already lost the lower parts of the city which lay towards the sea-coast, they should more carefully guard those that stood on the higher ground.

Now the garrison under the command of Menyllus was no wise offensive to the inhabitants; but there were above twelve thousand, who on account of their poverty, by virtue of an article in the late treaty, were struck out of the city-rolls, some of whom that remained in the city made loud complaints of injustice and oppression. The rest lest Athens, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater had assigned them a town and some territories for their accommodation; but they looked on themselves as no better than a colony of slaves and exiles.

The death of Demosthenes and that of Hyperides, which happened about that time, made the Athenians remember with regret the days of Philip and Alexander.

ander, and almost wish for a return of those times. And so it was after the death of Antigonus: for when they who had defeated and killed him ruled with an absolute power, cruelly oppressing their fubjects, a countryman in Phrygia, digging in the fields, was asked what he was doing? "I am," withal fetching a deep figh, " fearching for Antigonus." So faid many who remembered those days, and the disputes they had with the aforesaid kings, whose anger, however great, was yet generous and placable: whereas Antipater, with the counterfeit humility of appearing like a private man, in the meanness of his dress and homely fare, covered the haughtiness of his mind; and, infolently abusing his power, was infufferable to those under his command, being exceeding lordly and tyrannical. Yet Phocion had interest enough with him to recal many from banishment by his intreaty; and prevailed also for those who were to continue in exile, that they might not

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not, like others, be hurried beyond Tenarus and the mountains of Ceraunia, but remain in Greece, and fettle in Peleponnefus, of which number was Agnonides the fycophant. As to those who remained in the city, Phocion governed them with fignal equity and moderation, constantly preferring to the magistracy those who were men of worth and temper, keeping out the factious and turbulent, left they should abuse their power to raise disturbances: and when their fubstance became exhausted for want of employment, and they grew weary of idleness, he advised them to retire into the country and mind tillage. Phocion observing that Zenocrates payed his affessments as a foreigner, would have perfuaded him to accept of his freedom; which he refused, saying, " He never could be a member of that "constitution, to the establishment of which he * made all the opposition ,sldifloq " the adminification folely in their own

^{*} For he had been fent ambassador to Antipater, for maintaining

opossible, when he was sent ambassador " by the Athenians to Antipater." When Menyllus one day offered Phocion a confiderable fum of money, he thanked him, faying, "Neither was he greater than Alex-" ander, nor were his own occasions " more urgent to receive it now, than " when he refused to accept it from that " prince." Menyllus still pressing him, defired him at least to permit his fon Phocus to receive it: but he replied, " If " my fon returns to his right mind, his " patrimony is sufficient; if not, in the " course he now takes, all supplies will " be infignificant." But to Antipater, who would have him engaged in fomething dishonourable, he answered harshly: " Antipater cannot use me both as " a friend and a flatterer." And indeed Antipater was wont to fay, that he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and De-

maintaining the democracy, and preventing the rich from having the administration folely in their own hands.

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mades; the first of whom would never fuffer him to gratify him at all, and the other was never to be fatisfied. Phocion's virtue made his poverty appear reputable: for tho' he had been so often commander in chief of the Athenians, and admitted to the friendship of so many potentates, yet he grew old and poor in the fervice of the commonwealth: whereas Demades took a pride in the oftentation of his illgotten wealth. For at that time there was a law in force, providing, that no foreigner should be entertained to dance at the public shows, on the penalty of a thousand drachmas to be levied on him who should exhibit them: in defiance of which, his vanity was fo great, as to hire a thousand strangers, and he payed the fine for them all in ready cash on the stage. About the same time marrying his fon, he told him with the like vanity, " Son, when I married your mother, it " was done so privately, that it was not " known to the next neighbours: where-

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" as

" as kings and princes shew themselves forward to make you presents at your

" nuptials."

Menyllus's garrison was still a grievous eye-fore to the commonalty among the Athenians; and they ceased not clamouring at Phocion, to prevail with Antipater for its removal. But when he despaired of effecting it, or rather observed the people to be more governable, and behaving themselves more orderly, by the awe which was upon them, he constantly declined that office. The only thing he asked and obtained from Antipater, was not to exact immediately the money charged upon the Athenians, but to prolong the term of payment. Wherefore the people, leaving Phocion off, applied themfelves to Demades, who readily undertook the office, and took his fon along with him into Macedonia. It may be faid, that his evil genius led him thither just at the time when Antipater was seized with a distemper of which he died. His fon

fon Cassander, who was now become absolute, had found a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him
to come and take upon himself " the em" pire of Greece and Macedonia, which
" now stood upon an old and rotten
" stalk:" for so, in scoff, he called Antipater.

So foon as Cassander heard they were arrived at court, he ordered them both to be arrested; and first caused the son to be murdered in his father's presence, and so near his person, that the blood spirted out upon him: after which, when he had bitterly reproached him for his treachery and ingratitude, he caused him to be murdered also.

Antipater had a little before his death appointed Polyperchon general, and his fon Cassander chiliarch, or military tribune: but his father being now dead, Cassander immediately seized on all, and without loss of time sent Nicanor to receive from Menyllus the command of the

garrison in Minichia, and possess himself of it before the news of his father's death could be known. This was was accordingly executed, and a few days after arrived the news of his death. The Athenians accused Phocion as being privy to it, as if he had concealed it out of friendship to Nicanor: but he slighted their tittle-tattle, and meeting oft and conferring with Nicanor, made it his business to render him civil and obliging to the Athenians: and not only fo, but perfuaded him to distinguish himself by his magnificence, and entertain the people with fome public shows. In the mean time Poliperchon, to whose care the king's perfon was committed, in order to undermine Cassander, writ a cunning letter to the city, declaring * that it was the king's

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^{*} Polyperchon knew the only way left for him to circumvent Cassander, was to restore the government of the people in all the cities where it had been abolished by Antipater, which would render him absolute. This whole scheme is clearly explained in the eighteenth book of Diodorus Siculus.

pleasure they should be restored to their antient privileges and immunities, and be at entire liberty to govern their commonwealth according to their antient customs and laws. The bottom of these pretences was mere stratagem, levelled principally against Phocion, as the event shewed: for Polyperchon's design being to possess himself of the city, he despaired of effecting it while Phocion was alive and in credit: but he did not doubt getting him removed, if he could but restore those who had been excluded by him, and place the orators and sycophants once more in the pulpits.

The Athenians were all in an uproar upon the reading of those letters *, which made Nicanor desirous to talk with them

* Nicanor, who had finelt Polyperchon's drift, was without doubt for making the Athenians sensible of it by convincing them, that this bait of a democracy would be fatal to them, and was laid by Polyperchon only to entrap them, and make himself master of the city.

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in Piræus, and accordingly the affembly was fummoned to meet there. Nicanor came hither in person, relying on Phocion's promise for his security. Dercyllus, who commanded for the king in the adjacent parts, undertook to go and feize him in Piræus; but Nicanor, who received some hint of it, got off before he could arrive, declaring openly that he would revenge himself upon that city. Phocion was accused for being near him, and not feizing him, as he might have done; but he justified himself by saying, " That he " had no kind of mistrust of Nicanor, " nor did he think him capable of " any ill defign. However, if it should " prove otherwise, for his own part he " would have them all know he had " rather receive than do an ill thing to " any man." This carriage of Phocion, fairly and fimply confidered, would appear extremely generous and gentlemanlike *; yet

This distinction is very just and reasonable; for there

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yet looking upon him as a man standing in the relation he then did to his own endangered country, whilst he was in the station of power and authority, there is something, methinks, of prior consideration, and an original obligation of justice, in discharging the trust reposed in him, to be regarded, much rather than such points of honour: for it is not a satisf-

there are some actions of virtue and magnanimity that are laudable with respect to those who perform them, but become unwarrantable when considered in relation to those who are injured by them. It is certain, that there are some obligations which not only dispense with those actions, but require others the reverse of them, which in that case become actions of the greatest justice and magnanimity. In a word, there is no virtue, justice, or magnanimity in actions, which violate natural and fundamental obligations in favour of others which are new and acquired. But this, after all, may make nothing against Phocion, who may fay, that he did not fee that danger with which they pretended his country was threatened, but depended upon Nicanor's honour and generofity: fo that the only thing he can be charged with, is too great a confidence in his friend; and if that be a fault, how few good men are there who can upon all occasions be proof against it?

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factory pretence to fay, that he dreaded involving the city in war, by feizing on Nicanor; nor that in honour and justice he could not lay hold on a man who had given him all the affurance and fecurity in the world, that he would nowife molest or disturb the Athenian state. But it was, indeed, his credulity and confidence in him, and a fond opinion of his fincerity, that imposed upon him: fo that, notwithstanding the sundry intimations he had of his defigns on Pyræus, and fending numbers of mercenaries to Salamine, besides his tampering with and endeavouring to corrupt those of Pyræus, he would, notwithstanding all this evidence, never be perfuaded to believe it. Nay farther, tho' Philomedes, the fon of Lampres, had got a decree passed, that all the Athenians should stand to their arms, and be ready to follow Phocion their general, he fat still and fecure, till fuch time as Nicanor had actually brought down arms and ammunition from

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from Mynichia to Pyræus, and begun to draw trenches round it. Whilf these things were transacting, when Phocion would have led out the Athenians, they mutinied against him, and slighted his orders.

Alexander, fon of Polyperchon, at hand with a confiderable force, pretending to be for the fuccour of the city against Nicanor, but rather defigned to furprise it, whilst the Athenians were thus divided among themselves: for the exiles who had followed Alexander foon got into the city, where taking into their party every foreigner and fuch as had been fligmatized and degraded, all together made up an odd medley of an affembly, in which they immediately divested Phocion of all his power, and made choice of other commanders: and had not Alexander been accidentaly spied from the walls, alone in close consultation with Nicanor, and thereby given the Athenians just cause of suspicion, the city must infallibly have been taken. Upon this the orator Agnonides

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nides immediately fell foul upon Phocion, and impeached him of treason. Callimedon and Pericles, fearing the worst, confulted their own fafety, and fled. cion, with the few friends that stood by him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of and Dinarchus the Corinthian, Platea. being reputed the friends and confidents of Polyperchon, accompanied them out of respect to Phocion: but Dinarchus falling fick by the way, they were forced to rest several days at Elatea, a city of Phocis. In this interval, Archestratus having got a decree passed for that purpose, Agnonides perfuaded the people to fend ambaffadors to Polyperchon with an accufation against Phocion.

Polyperchon with the king was taking a view of the country, when both parties came up to him at Pharygas, a small village of Phocis, situated at the foot of mount Acrorion, now called Galate. There Polyperchon raised a pavilion of cloth of gold, and having seated the king and the chief

nides

chief officers of his court under it, he instantly gave his order for seizing of Dinarchus, who without any more to do was first tortured and then slain. After this he gave audience to the Athenians, who filled the place with noise and tumult, all fpeaking at once, and accusing one another before the king and his council, when Agnonides prefling forward, defired they might all be shut up together in a cage, and conveyed to Athens, there to decide the controversy. The king could not forbear fmiling at this proposition; but the company that attended, both Macedonians and strangers, whose curiofity brought them thither, were defirous to hear the cause; and therefore made figns to the ambassadors to go on with their accusations. But it was far from a fair and equitable hearing: Polyperchon frequently interrupted Phocion, and at last knocking with his battoon on the ground, refused him absolutely and commanded him filence. Hegemon appealed to Polyperchon

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ne ef chon himself, as one who well knew how studious he had been of the people's interest: to which he replied furiously, "Forbear to belye me before the king." Upon this the king starting up, was about to have darted him thro' with his javelin; but Polyperchon interposing hindered him: so the assembly was dissolved.

Immediately Phocion and those of his friends who were near him, were put into custody: upon this such as were at greater distance covered their faces; and Clitus was ordered to convey Phocion and the rest in custody with him back to Athens; feemingly in order to clear themselves of what was charged against them, but in reality as men already sentenced to die. The manner of conveying them was indeed extremely moving: for they were carried in carts through Ceramicum straight to the theatre, where Clitus fecured them till the archons had called an affembly, from which none were excluded, not even flaves, nor foreigners, nor persons stigmatized

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tized and degraded; for both the theatre and court of justice stood open to all comers, men, women and children. In the first place were read the king's letters, in which he tells the Athenians, " That " tho' he was fully convinced that those " men were traitors; yet he fent them " back to be tried and judged by them, " as by a free people in full poffession " of their own laws and privileges." After these letters had been read, Clitus brought in his prisoners. At the fight of Phocion all the men of honour and virtue among them blushed, and hanging down their heads burst out into tears: one of those was so hardy as to fay, "Since the " king has been fo gracious as to leave " to the people the judgment of an affair " of that consequence, he thought it " reasonable, that the assembly should be " cleared of strangers and men of servile " condition." But the populace opposed the motion with great warmth, bawling out to have those men of oligarchical principles, elddar.

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principles, those enemies to the commonwealth, all stoned: after which no men durst offer any thing farther in behalf of Phocion. It was a long time before he himself could be heard in his own defence; at last having obtained silence, he demanded, " If they intended to put them " to death by form of law, or not?" Some answered, "According to law." " How can that be done, replied he, " unless we have fair hearing?" But when they were deaf to all he faid, approaching nearer, "As to myself, says " he, I confess * the crime, and submit to " the judgment of the law: but for these " my friends, O ye men of Athens, what " have they done to deferve this fentence, " having offended you in nothing?" The

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^{*} This was according to custom, that the person under accusation was to condemn himself in some penalty: Phocion therefore adjudgeth himself to death, thinking it might be a means of blunting the edge of the Athenians rancour, and softening them a little in favour of his friends; but it had not that effect.

rabble cried out, "They were his friends "and accomplices, and that was enough." Upon hearing this he drew back, and was filent.

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Then Agnonides read the decree, by which the people were impowered to decide by a majority of voices, whether they judged them "Guilty or not;" and if found guilty, they were then to be punished. Upon hearing the decree read, fome were fo brutal as to move, that a clause might be added for putting Phocion to the torture before he was executed, and were for having the rack and executioner fent for into court. But Agnonides perceiving even Clitus himself to dislike the motion, looking upon it as a thing most horrid and barbarous, faid, If we can take that villain Callimedon, "O ye Athenians! let us ferve him fo " with all my heart; but I cannot con-" fent that Phocion should be so served." At which words one of those who were better disposed, rose up and said, "Thou hand g

" art in the right, Agnonides: for if we "put Phocion to the torture, what hast "not thou to expect from us?" When the votes came to be taken, there was not one in the negative; they all to a man rose up, and some with chaplets of flowers on their heads in token of their approbation: so that all were condemned to die.

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With Phocion there were Nicocles, Theudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles: besides these; Demetrius the Phalarean, Callimedon, Charicles, and fome others, tho' abfent, wwere involved in the same fentence. After the affembly was difmiffed, they were remanded to prison, some of their friends following them, embracing and weeping over them, and making great lamentation. Phocion did not change his countenance in the least; but appeared with the same cheerfulness and presence of mind, as when heretofore he left the affembly in order to take upon him the command of the army to that all who beheld him admired his firmness 110 and

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and magnanimity. Some of his declared enemies, indeed, infulted and reviled him as he passed along; and one of them was fo outrageous as to spit in his face, at which it is faid, that he turned to the archons, asking them, "Will no body " correct this fellow's rudeness?" Theudippus, when he observed the executioner tempering the poison, and preparing it for them, was difordered, and began to bemoan his condition and the hard meafure he received, to fuffer so unjustly upon Phocion's account. "What! fays he, " dost thou not think it an honour to un-" dergo the same fate with Phocion?" One of his friends, who stood by, asked him, " If he had any message to send his " fon?" "Yes," fays he, command him from me by all means to forget the " Athenians ill treatment of his father." When Nicocles, the dearest and most faithful of Phocion's friends, begged of him to drink the poison first: "Ah! my friend, " fays he, this is the most harsh and un-" pleasing g 2

" pleafing request thou ever madest me:
" but since through my whole life I have
" never denied thee any thing, I must
" gratify thee in this also." After all but
these two had drank, there wanted a due
proportion; and the executioner refusing
to prepare more, unless they would pay
him twelve drachms, to defray the charge
of a full draught, and some delay being
thereon made, Phocion called one of his
friends who stood by: "What, says he,
" cannot a man die on free-cost among
" the Athenians?" and desired him to
give the executioner the trisling sum he
demanded.

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It was the nineteenth day of the month Mynichion, at which time it was usual to have solemn processions on horseback, in honour of Jupiter. Some of the horsemen, as they passed by, threw away their garlands; others stopped at the prifon-doors, bitterly weeping and casting most piteous looks towards the place of execution; and many of the rest, whose minds

minds were not absolutely debauched by fpite and passion, or had any spark of humanity left, owned it to be very wicked and impious not to have reprieved them for that day at least, and exempted the city from blood and flaughter on that folemn festival. But as if all this had been fmall game, the malice of Phocion's enemies went still higher; for they got a decree passed, that his corps should be carried out of the Athenian territories, and that no Athenian should be suffered to provide fire for the funeral pile. So that not one of his friends dared so much as to touch the body, till Conopion, an undertaker, who got his livelihood by fuch fervices, took the corps, and carrying it beyond Eleusina, borrowed some fire of a Megaran woman, and burned it. A matron of Megara, who with her fervantmaids affisted at the funeral office, raised on the spot an honorary monument, and made the usual libations to the manes of the deceased; after which she carefully gathered Sousvel

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gathered up the bones, and carrying them home by night to her own house, buried them under her hearth, addressing herself to the Lares in the following words:

"To you, O ye Gods! guardians of this "place, I commit the precious remains" of the most excellent Phocion: protect "them, I beseech you, from all insults, "and deliver them one day to be depo
sited in the sepulchre of his ancestors, "when the Athenians shall have be
"come wiser."

And, indeed, a very little time, and their own fad experience, foon informed them, what an excellent governor, and how great an example of justice and virtue they had deprived themselves of: whereupon they decreed him a brass-statue, and that his bones should be interred honourably at the public charge. As to his accusers, they seized Agnonides and put him to death: the other two, namely Epicurus and Demophilus, sled the city for fear; but his son met them, and took revenge

revenge on them, which may be faid * to be the only good action he was ever praised for.

These proceedings against Phocion made the Grecians reslect upon Socrates's fate. Their + cases were exactly parallel,

of it and what is more, after they had been vilibly punific-

Whether he deserves any commendation for this action, as Plutarch feems to infinuate, though in contradiction to his father's dying commands, as above related, we leave to the reader's judgment. Plutarch farther mentions his releasing his mistress, a girl of which he was enamoured, who had been fold to one of those female hucksters, whose infamous practice it was to buy and fell young women, whom their purchaser made free, in order to marry them; and this he was encouraged to do on the following argument, maintained by Theodorus, (which feems calculated on purpose to countenance the follies of the young gentlemen of Athens) namely: " If it be no shame for a man to redeem his friend, it " is no more so to redeem his mistress, and if he ought " not to redeem the one, no more ought he to redeem " the other." But the fallacy of the argumentation is too apparent to require pointing it out.

† The sentence passed against Phocion resembles that of Socrates in every circumstance, only that in the case

and both of them proved the shame, and indeed the punishment of the Athenians.

Theoria, than they had to the festival of Jupiter in the case of Phocion. It was sourscore and two years from Socrates's death to Phocion's. When the Athenians had committed so great an error, after they had been sensible of it and what is more, after they had been visibly punished for it, one would think they never could have been guilty of the like again. But such is the nature of the populace, after the commission of one crime, they are seldom long before they commit another. They will run head-long into an error in the morning, be sorry for it at noon, and as soon as they have dined, be guilty of just such another.

and foll young wonden, whom there amounter made steel in order to mate them; and this he was encouraged

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" not to reducin the one, no more ought he so sed em

the other." But the fallery of the argumentation

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to do on the following argument, mulaisided by 4 lear to russ; (which let its calculated on purpose to country, the follies of the young gentlement of Athens) being it.

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SUMMARY

CONVERSATION III.

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Page 80

CONVERSATIONS.

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CONVERSATION I.

General representation of the situation of Athens and Greece at the time of these conversations. Politics a science the principles of which are fixed. Obedience to the laws of nature its first rule. All the evils of society owing to the usurped sway of passions. Politics is to reduce them under the happy government of reason.

Page 1

CONVERSATION II.

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There is no virtue, however obscure, which does not contribute to the happiness of mankind. The establishment of morality is the principal object of politics. No good government without good morals; they correct its defects. Aristias's objection's. Phocion's replies.

Page 39

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CONVERSATION III.

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Methods which politics should employ to render a people virtuous. The virtues it ought chiefly to cultivate; temperance, love of labour, love of glory. The necessity of religion. Page 80

CONVERSATION IV.

Of the love of one's country, and of mankind. Of the virtues necessary to a republic for preventing the dangers with which it may be threatened by the passions of its neighbours. Page 129

CONVERSATION V.

Of the means which policy should make use of in reforming a commonwealth whose manners are corrupted. Of the use which may be made of the passions. Different distempers of states.

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Page 171

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MORALITY and POLITICS.

CONVERSATION I.

General representation of the situation of Athens and Greece at the time of these conversations. Politics a science the principles of which are fixed. Obedience to the laws of nature its first rule. All the evils of society owing to the usurped sway of passions. Politics is to reduce them under the happy government of reason.

O, dear Cleophanes, despair not

N of our country's safety; Athens,
having Phocion, has not yet
lost Minerva's protection; the corruption
of our people is not at such a height as
ever to persist in despising his philosophy:

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did we conform to it, soon should we be like our fathers; soon would characters, emulating Miltiades, Aristides, Themistocles and Cymon spring up among us; and we should have a republic worthy of such great men.

Penetrated with grief at the many vices which have infected the hearts of our citizens, and at the implacable wars into which the temporary differences which formerly disturbed Greece (1), without rending it, are degenerated, all quarters appear to me clouded with presages of approaching fervitude, and I am going to comfort myself in Phocion's conversation. Into his bosom I pour all my fears and disquietudes. The gods alone, said he to me, are immortal: monarchies and republics shoot forth, grow up, inlarge themfelves, and their very prosperity, as they always abuse it, is always the token of their declension: being the works of men they bear the marks of their weakness, and like them they are subject to distempers, decay,

decay, and death. You and I should have been born in happier times. To be at fea with a fair breeze and fine weather, when the pilot reads his course in the clear sky, is pleafant : yet let us not murmur against the eternal order of things, if it has not been pleased to allot such happiness to us. In the midst of a tempestuous fea, over-run with shoals, we are not pufillanimously to give over working the ship; even hope against hope. My dear Nicocles, faid Phocion to me, never are we to defpair of the republic; combat great diforders with greater wisdom; the more danger the more resolution; expect wonders from the gods, and in such expectation you may perhaps perform wonders. The republic may be loft; but the comfort of an honest man when finking amidst its ruins will be, that he did all he could to fave it.

Dear Cleophanes, would you were with us! Our discourse turns on the love of our aountry and freedom, which now, alas!

a few, very few patriotic hearts excepted, is totally extinct among us; we lament our departure from the plainness of former times, that secure fence to good morals; we figh over the reigning purfuit of false pleasures, which must terminate in wretchedness. Phocion, was I saying to him no longer ago than yesterday, I am not at all furprized that our brilliant fuccesses through the whole course of the Median war should have swelled us with a foolish presumption: men are better adapted to bear misfortunes than prosperity; we ought to have been on our guard, and intreated the gods to crown their favours, by not permitting us to make a wrong use of them: whereas we fillily became intoxicated with our glory; we have not confidered that there would be an end of all this prosperity, on our departing from the principles to which we owed it. Inflated with our superiority at fea, we took it into our heads, after the action off Salamis, that it was beneath

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beneath us to regard the claims of Lacedemon, and to hold only the fecond place in Greece. Our neighbours and the colonies courted our alliance, and we imagined that in granting it we did them a favour. We injudiciously fold them a protection which we ought readily to have given them. Our arrogant ambition foon betrayed us into fresh oversights. We have broke through all regard to the liberty of our friends, because less powerful than ourselves. After freeing them from the Perfian yoke, we were for imposing ours on them; and very patiently did they bear with our loftiness, till, at length, our avarice has irritated them (2); and they are become our enemies.

Our overbearing injustice was punished in the revolt or desection of our allies; and we, instead of opening our eyes and amending our measures, flattered ourselves with being above chastisement, and made use of open force for ruling over states which constituted our greatness, lending

us both ships and men; now by weakening and ruining them, our very fuccesses have turned out fo many losses to us. What could be our drift in breaking the ties of that antient and respectable alliance, which kept up a general peace among the Greeks, and made them more than a match for all the numberless armies of Asia? The Peloponnesian war, of which we are the authors, has been the baneful feed of all our calamities: we have been worsted, and had we been conquerors (3), neither we nor Greece would have ever been the better for it. The spirit of giddiness which had possessed Athens, fpread through all Greece; hatred and ambition, revenge and mistrust, rankled in every heart. The Greeks themselves were become their worst enemies, and, ever since, all that each republic has been doing for preferving its freedom or increasing its power, is the very thing which ruins it.

Such as our condition is, some inward foresight however intimates to me at times,

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times, that all is not irretrievably lost: Phocion, had the gods intended our abfolute excision, they would have let us decline infenfibly, as a gradual corruption would have deprived us of the resources necessary for emerging from it. A mist, daily thickening on us, would have hindered us from feeing the gulph into which we are falling: whereas the gods, in their infinite goodness, have given us loud warnings; they have permitted that fudden and unexpected revolutions should rouze us from our infatuation, and force us to reflect.

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Our country, which was for lording it every where, has, in one day, feen its walls levelled with the ground, and a government of thirty tyrants imposed on it; and these the more cruel, as being the servile creatures of Lyfander. Lacedemon, which on this fuccess set up itself as the tyrant over Greece, and whose armies, headed by Agefilaus, fpread consternation even to the capital of the great king, has feen its power expire in the fields of

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Leuctra. The pursuit of this fole dominion over Greece having cost our fathers and the Spartans fo dear, and which, after all, the one could not gain, and the other could not keep, should not every city, taught by fuch fignal experience, look upon the attempting it by force as downright madness? Why then will not Greece turn its eyes inward? The gods are continually warning and instructing us: is not Philip's ambition enough to teach us prudence? It is to our vices, as from these proceeds our weakness, that Macedonia is indebted for its ftrength and fuccesses. It is time to come to a sense of our real interest. We see, we feel it is, and there is some appearance of an inclination even to act; but all our faculties as it were benumbed, or flag at the least effort: by what happy means shall we then recover our ftrength and refolution ?offoco bear a sepullos A vd I

Phocion was going to answer me, when he was interrupted by Aristias, a young man

man naturally of the happiest dispositions, but whose mind the sophists had began already to vitiate. He came in with the volatility of a coxcomb who imagines himself profoundly acquainted with weighty truths, because his opinions are fingular, and full of himself for his fortitude in throwing off fome vulgar prejudices. My bufiness, Phocion, abruptly making up to him, is to ask your friendship, and deny me you cannot, it being for the good of our country that I ask it.

I begin, continued he, to be out of conceit with that liftless philosophy which teaches only barren truths, or rather ingenious conjectures on the formation of the universe, and the nature of the gods and of our foul. These are matters in which one foon comes to a point: but, after all, men are made for fociety; their welfare and happiness must be the work of their own hands, and of course the study of fociety, that is politics, ought to be their main business. Now, in this walk,

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walk, what better guide can I have than yourfelf, Phocion, you who have so eminently distinguished yourself at the head of our armies, in the fenate, and the affembly of the people? I cannot conceive how it is that things go fo wrong with us; for Athens, far from being rude and ignorant, has now every thing that can make it the first republic in the world: it is the universal emporium; merchandize of all kinds copiously flows in upon us from all parts (4); our opulence, our genius, and industry draw hither the choicest commodities of all countries. From us arts and sciences receive the noblest improvements; philosophy has meliorated our manners, and we have learned to make the virtues gentle, focial, and amiable. At the call of glory how readily we start from pleasure; and in the talent of enjoying the advantages of society we particularly excel. Vanity apart, are our neighbours to be named on the same day with us?

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How heavy the Spartans! What ought to have been put in execution a fortnight ago, they will drawl out a month longer in tardy deliberations. As for the Beotians, their folly is to be matched only by their arrogance: because they happened to be the arbiters of Greece for a moment, they fillily conceit that they are entitled to rule over it. Then there is Phocis, with its fine temple of Delphi, lies lounging in a torpid veneration for the oracles of its Apollo. What does fordid Corinth mind but money, and the gainful trade it carries on by means of its two feas? As for the other parts of Greece, they are not worth mentioning; and without a little of our polishing, they would still be as odd mortals as our venerable forefathers in Theseus's times. Amidst all our advantages, I am fomething out of humour; our magistrates seem not to know how to avail themselves of our abilities; it is plain to me that the republic, which should rule Greece with a high hand, droops,

droops, and is in a fenfible decline; and this from our own fault. No stroke of genius comes from us; we do nothing of what we should do; then what are we the better for all our superior talents and qualities? New laws should be proposed, or at least amendments to the prefent. Solon might formerly be good for fomething, but new times new measures. A phlegmatic home-spun policy can only chill and dispirit the citizens; in a word, my heart flames at the thought of Philip and Macedonia; it is a shame, and we ought, by this time, to have taught them to know themselves.

Phocion answered this exordium only with a careless smile; but for my part, I could hardly forbear checking this pragmatical spark, who drew on himself our contempt, whilst he fancied he was raifing our admiration: however, I remained filent, leaving Aristias to pursue his reflections, which he did with equal warmth and volubility. No part of our government

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rnent ment escaped his lash; and such unhappily is our folly, that I must own the young cockfcomb was not feldom in the right; but then the remedies he proposed are most egregiously irrational. He was hugely pleased with his discoveries, and feveral times inveighed against the law by which no person under fifty is to speak in the public affembly of the people (5), infinuating withal, that by this ridiculous law, the state lost the benefit of his wife counfels: at length, when he conceited he had approved himself the tutelar genius of Athens, and that fhould the republic go on declining, the fault did not lie at his door, he ended.

I must return you thanks, said Phocion to him, for the infight you have given me, and cannot but commend your zeal for our country. You have with great perspicuity laid open several flaws in our republic, and indeed in all Greece: however, in the many remedies you are for trying, methinks you do not observe that

order and method which appear to me necessary, and without which all you propose, though it might for a while patch up our distempers, will not effectually cure them. What would you fay of a physician, who being fent for to a dropfical patient labouring under a parching thirst, should only prescribe to make him drink plentifully? His blood is quite inflamed; carry him instantly to the bath. This is not talking like a regular physician; fuch advice speaks an ignorant quack, who, instead of curing the disease, means nothing farther than to give his patient a temporary but fatal relief.

Would you take upon you to fet up for a physician before you have closely studied the whole texture of the human fystem? Undoubtedly no; you would first get a knowledge of all it's feveral parts; you would inform yourself of their functions, their different relations, and carefully examine the virtue and the propriety of every medicament. Politics, Aristias,

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is state-physic, and a physic in which knowledge and exact disquisition are not less necessary than in the other branch. Before striking out fo many schemes for the prosperity and glory of our country, have you maturely weighed the motives for which men confented to give up their natural independency, and erected among themselves government, laws, and magistrates? Have you well considered the nature of the human heart and mind, and the happiness we are susceptible of? Have you traced our passions up to the fource? Are you well acquainted with their strength, their activity, their caprices? Have you endeavoured to divest yourfelf of your prepossessions, that you may confult only genuine reason, and by its help attain to a knowledge of nature's general view concerning us? In a word, have you endeavoured to distinguish our real wants from those to which we ourselves have given rife; from those artificial wants which perhaps are the fources of all our mif-

misfortunes, procuring us only short intervals and some transient pleasures, of which we are drawn into fatal delusions?

Without these previous lights, who can warrant you that the object you have in view is in reality that which deferves your attention? How will you be fure that the remedy you are making use of will produce the good expected; or, that the application of it to one part of fociety, will not hurt the other? Politics would be an art no less contemptible than our superficial Grecian practitioners of it, if in ridding us of one disease it brings on another, and does not recur to the primary cause of the several disorders and morbid humours in the body of the republic. If all you want, Aristias, be but a collection of empyrical nostrums, or juggling prestiges, I am not your man; but let me tell you none of those things belong to politics. The art of deceiving men and the art of making them happy are totally different. It is from empyrics being

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being at the helm, that the condition of Greece is, as it were, absolutely under the influence of a capricious, fickle and malignant chance. Pursuing, as we do, a chimerical happiness, an illusory shadow which mocks our grasp, how can we wonder at our disappointments? We are wholly taken up with the present moment, and this moment is continually giving us the slip, and thus our politics, continually hampered with unforeseen circumstances, fees its hopes disappointed, and its projects defeated. We find, by experience, that what yesterday seemed to promise something of a calm to the republic, to-day raises a tempest in it; why then do we not recur to those clear, fixed and immutable principles, implanted in us by bountiful nature, that perceiving our happiness, we should labour to build it on a folid foundation?

I now, my dear Cleophanes, enjoyed a double pleasure: I heard the excellent Phocion, and I saw Aristias who, recollecting himself, was struggling between

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the defire of being informed, and the confusion of having been so much mistaken. His varying looks alternately fpoke thefe conflicting fentiments, and I flept in to the support of his reason. Aristias, said I to him, let me advise you to be easy, if you are not quite fo knowing as Phocion. He both blushed and smiled. Come, added I, if you can but bring yourfelf to fo much candour as to allow that, at twenty years of age, it is no shame to be ignorant of many things, you will, I promife you, foon deserve to be a disciple of Phocion. At these words the love of truth gained the ascendant over Aristias's selflove; he threw himself about my neck, and it was only veneration which restrained him from shewing the like familiar effufion to Phocion.

I acknowledge, Phocion, said he, I am very far from being qualified to amend our laws and repair the oversights of our magistrates. Though as yet my errors are unknown to me, I see that I must have

have been mistaken, I make no doubt of it; yet the more I reflect on your words, the less do I understand your purpose. Is it possible, continued he, that in the midst of revolutions by which the nature of affairs, and the face of focieties are fluctuating in continual changes, the art of government should be fixed, determinate and unchangeable? Unquestionably it is, replied Phocion, fince the nature of man, whose happiness is the scope of policy, is connected with and depends on a fixed, determinate and unchangeable principle. Affairs may change with our humours; but these changes do not affect the rules of nature, nor the destination of men and fociety. But, urged Aristias, only cast an eye on the Barbarians who border on Greece; what a prodigious difference do you not perceive between the Perfians, the Scythians, the Thracians, the Macedonians, &c.? We Greeks really feem a distinct class of men. Nay, does not every one of our republics differ in man-C 2 ners

ners and constitution? Are we not all striving after a different happiness? Therefore what would be proper in Greece, where we are for being free, would be criminal in Persia, where slavery pleases. Is it in nature that Arcadia, being hemmed in on all fides by Peloponnesus, should have the same object in view as Corinth? And we ourselves, who have to do with a barren and ungrateful foil, are we to take the inhabitants of the fertile Laconia for our models in politics. The wants of fociety varying according to times and places and new circumstances or a revolution often throwing a people into a total difference from itself, should not the principal attention of politics be to vary its principles and measures most fuitably to fuch viciffitudes?

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Let it vary the manner of applying its principles, I have nothing to fay against that, returned Phocion; as all the miftaken states are not under the same mistake, some straying more or less than others others from the road to happiness: but can you think, my dear Aristias, that in conformity to the whimsicalness of our humours, nature, no less fickle, giddy, and capricious than ourselves, must have different sorts of happiness to distribute among us? No such thing; it has but one happiness, and this it offers equally to all men; and the first step of policy should therefore be to get a thorough knowledge of the happiness of which man is susceptible, likewise of the means afforded him for the attainment of it.

Let us suppose, Aristias, some heedless travellers setting out from Athens to go to Corinth without making any enquiry about the way, and thus wander into the road to Ionia, Thracia, or Macedonia. If they keep strait on, this will lead them to those provinces, which see the day rise, to the Hyperborean nations, or among the barbarians beyond the Tanais; but with all their vigour, resolution, and patience, they will be worne out and miser-

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ably perish before they find on the frontiers of the earth that Corinth whither they intended, and to which they, at first, had but a step of a few stades, and of course might have reached it with all the ease in the world. Under a like error are all states; they are engaged in a solicitous and intricate search after happiness where it is not; and this disquietude stimulates them in an uncertain and delusive course, which they term politics.

You are no stranger, Aristias, continued Phocion, to the situation Lacedemon was in, when the gods were pleased to appoint Lycurgus its legislator. All the Spartans had formed to themselves false and chimerical notions of happiness. The two kings imagined it to consist in arbitrarily ruling over a multitude of slaves, the rich in oppressing the people, and the commonalty placed it in despising of their superiors, and spurning at the laws. The different orders of the republic were sometimes united only by impulses of ambition,

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bition, or rather avarice, which made them hated by all their neighbours, on whom it was their practice to commit depredations; but for which however they were sometimes made to smart.

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Had Lycurgus fostered the mistakes of that country instead of removing them, the Spartans, who were this day torne to pieces by the disorders of tyranny, and the next by those of anarchy, and ever unhappy in flattering themselves with being one day happy, would not have given over their intestine outrages, till some successful enemy had reduced those stubborn zealots to the condition of their Hilotes. But by this divine man they were brought into the track of happiness: and herein his procedure was quite plain and fimple. Instead of regarding their prepossessions, he confulted only nature. He penetrated into the tortuous depths of the human heart, and explored the fecrets of providence. A restraint on the passions was the end of his inftitutes. Accordingly C 4 they

they intirely tended to illustrate and strengthen the laws which the Author of nature himself prescribes to us, through the ministry of that reason which he has implanted in us, and which is the supreme and only infallible magistrate of mankind.

At these words, my dear Cleophanes, Aristias, being thoroughly impregnated with the teachings of our Sophists, must needs interrupt Phocion. What unaccountable laws then, faid he, are those which reason imposes on us? How! are we to quench passions, of which the salutary fire gives life and action to fociety? Does not nature, which peremptorily enjoins an incessant pursuit of happiness, clearly make known its will and our deftination by the attractive pleasure or forbidding pain annexed to every thing about us? I shun or close with an object, as it difgusts, frightens, or invites me, and how can I err in complying with fuch an inflinct? Are not my passions, as born in

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me before my reason, equally the work of nature? How comes that pale and dim light, which yet, it feems, is to be my guide, to be the last in irradiating my eyes? Had nature intended man fhould obey reason, why is he left at liberty to disobey it? Is this same nature weak, timorous, and impotent, like our magistrates? And this reason, the oracles of which, with all their manifest uncertainty, are so much cried up, and on which we fo highly value ourselves, is but the creature of our vanity; we dignify with that appellation prejudices taken up at random, and confecrated only by custom and education. It is different in Persia, Egypt, and Thracia; in scarce two cities throughout all Greece is it alike; all imagine themselves possessed of it, whereas it is no where in reality. Besides, is it for weak, languid, and inthralled reason, to fet up for pre-eminence and fovereignty? This nature has evidently conferred on the passions, furnishing them with a force and

and impetus to subject us, and trample on all the struggles of intellectual oppofition.

Young man, replied Phocion, extremely should I pity you, had these errors of your mind made their way into you heart, so as to kill the seeds of virtue. At your age a bold paradox appears truth, and you are, in some measure, excusable, the philosophy of your years having its root only in passion: but, in time, you will be ashamed of having consounded the gross appetites of sense, and the aberrations of our mind, with the wise precepts of reason.

Ah, my dear Cleophanes, would you had been one present at this discourse! Here you had seen Phocion, always so composed in the tumultuous debates of our public meetings, gradually kindle in behalf of reason and virtue, for their cause is one; and, at length, pour sourth a torrent of spirited eloquence, of which I can only give you a faint adumbration.

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Young man, to whom the gods have given a well meaning heart, let me, dear Ariftias, intreat you not to spoil so valuable a gift. Reason but a prejudice! What a shocking position! Virtue then is only an useless unmeaning word. You banish it from the world, and how dreadful the world without virtue! Wild beafts were less dangerous to man than man himfelf. Do not shut your eyes against truth which beams on you from all fides. Is it not manifest that all evils proceed from the fway we allow our passions to usurp? And would to Heaven the proofs of this were not daily multiplied by never-ceafing experience! though my reason, that agent of nature's great Author among mankind, and the instrument of his will, is calling on me to be just, humane, temperate; directs me to feek my particular happiness in the public welfare, and conciliate men by those virtues which create security and confidence. Do but bestow a thought on the havock of unruly passions: each, blind to any concerns

cerns but its own, breaks asunder the links of the republic, making itself the object and center of the whole. alienates the citizens from one another: virtue would keep them in a friendly intercourse and reciprocation of good offices; vice creates hatred, fear, and fufpicions, and thus fets communities at variance; the passions respect nothing, stick at no crime. Wars, murders, treachery, violence, injustice, perfidy, baseness, form their retinue; whereas peace, fafety, and happiness, are the amiable attendants on reason and virtue.

We, my dear Aristias, hold the middle place between the pure intelligences and the brutes; therefore let us not be wholly one, nor wholly the other. The fummit of philosophy is to know our condition, and to be so wise as to keep in the station assigned to us, without pride, haughtiness, or abjection. We have reason and paffions: whilst we laugh at the fuperstiousness of those morose philosophers,

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who are for detaching our fouls from all the connections of fense, let us guard against the much more dangerous error of those profligates, who would prompt you to desile yourselves in the mire of your passions, though they themselves continually rue their having yielded to such mischievous seducements. To extinguish or destroy our passions is overdoing the intent of the Author of nature; they are originated from him, and like him, are immortal; yet does he enjoin us to controul, to moderate and to guide them by the dictates of reason, as thus only can their venom be extracted, and they made conducive to our happiness.

Whilst Phocion was thus speaking, Aristias, all attention, and with his eyes fixed downwards, seemed overpowered by the force and importance of truth, till at length breaking silence, he said, with a sigh, Then has nature, with no less deceit than cruelty, made a sport of mankind; what means this strange and capricious jumble of opposite qualities?

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Why are we encompassed with snares? Why, at least, has not our reason had either the strength or the fascination bestowed on our passions?

Here Phocion answered: join with me in bowing to the supreme wisdom. Circumscribed as we feel ourselves to be on all fides, and hemmed in by close boundaries, let us not presume on so rash an undertaking as to go about fcanning and measuring an infinite being. Who are we, to require an account of his defigns, economy, and government? The visible displays of his wisdom should strike us with a cautious and respectful admiration for what we do not fee. Were he to lay open to us the general fystem of the world, is our fight fo ftrong and comprehensive as to take in all the parts, all the dependencies, and relations, to understand the whole symmetry? No, my dear Aristias, were the author of nature to make known his arcana to us, they exceed our faculties; it would be only informing wil W

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forming us of mysteries, in which our reafon, as made for truths of a lower order, would be overwhelmed.

Be these these the limits of our knowledge and enquiries. Those truths which it concerns us to know Providence has clearly displayed to us: it has, as it were, held them up before our eyes; but others lie hidden under an impenetrable veil. What have we to complain of? Is it not fufficiently evident that our passions are very far from imparting the happiness they make a shew of? And of this does not reason give us convictive admonitions? As those fyrens call on us with their melodious accents only to make a prey of us, and to decoy us into certain destruction, why do we not combat them with Ulyffes's prudence? Are more revolutions in states, more catastrophes, more disasters, wanting to convince politicians, that the welfare of focieties demand another fort of foundation than unjust, blind, giddy, fickle, and capricious passions? Reprefent

fent to yourself, my dear Aristias, what a spectacle the earth would exhibit, did all its inhabitants, like the divine Socrates, of whom Plato and Xenocrates have a hundred times given me a particular account, cultivate every virtue. If in this fecond golden age, when, the paffions controuled and directed by reason, happiness would take up its settled abode with mankind, does it not follow that policy should promote an uniform attachment to virtue, and that this ought to be the main view of magistrates and legislators, and the principal end of all laws, customs, and ordinances.

When the Sophists can convince us of the great advantages accruing to the republic from the avarice, profuseness, floth, excesses, and injustice, of its citizens and magistrates, then let them explode the rights of reason, and extol the passions. But, my dear Aristias, to stop their mouths you need only defire them to take a retrospect of the most early ages, when

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when mankind yet was in its infancy; shew them that whilst our forefathers, who resembled brutes more than men, lived under the government of their passions, Greece was a scene of blood and tears. Call on those eminent philosophers, the contemners of reason, to inform us how it comes to pass, that our calamities did not begin to take a turn, till laws and magistrates, in consequence of the primary compacts, the intimations of reason, began, by means of penalties and rewards, to suppress some passions and exalt some virtues. Trace the annals of Greece, and you will ever find its happiness rise or fall as a more or dess judicious polity improved or vitiated its morality. and tada amunot

A hundred of our cities have been torne to pieces by intestine diffentions; and most of these will be found to have proceeded from fome paffion, stimulated by the hopes of fuccess or impunity, breaking the too feeble reins which with-held it. Our calamities always keep pace with our vices. The evils

evils produced by the passions of a Pericles, a Cleon, and an Alcibiades, are well known: I could give you a detail of them; but name me fo much as one public calamity which took its rife from the virtues of Miltiades, Aristides, and Cymon. The sovereignty of republics has been very frequently feized on by tyrants; and would they have hazarded any fuch thing, had not their fellow-citizens, as flaves to their paffions, been ready to facrifice country and freedom, to their revenge and their avarice?

But, we Aristias, how is it that we differ fo much from our fathers? Why are we not more happy? Do not, with the Sophists, charge this on a blind fortune, that has no existence: it is to the change in our manners every evil, every difgrace, is to be imputed. Avidity of money, with which we are eaten up, has stifled the love of our country. Such is the luxury of private families that it turns the deaf ear to every duty of humanity: pleasures, dissipation, delicacy,

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Such, my dear Aristias, is the fixed order in human affairs, that the prosperity of states is the never failing and stable reward of their virtues; and adversity and declension, the sure punishment of their vices. Of this truth the history of former ages is one continued warning to

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the present, and such we shall be to our posterity. Consider those revolutions by which so many states have been overthrown: they are, in reality, so many voices of Providence calling out to mankind, Beware of your passions, they only stater you to ruin you. They promise delight and happiness; but should you listen to their blandishments, they will become your executioners; they will draw you into slavery, and the instrument of your wretchedness will be either a domestic tyrant or a foreign conqueror."

Now, my dear Aristias, said Phocion, embracing him, go, digest the great truths which I have laid before you; and say to yourself whatever I might have added to these extemporary, suggestions: nature, with the insatiable desire of happiness congenial to us, has kindly marked out a track leading to the attainment of that happiness. No longer revile her with the Sophists, as dealing with us like a harsh step-mother; no longer complain that we are condemned to undergo the sate of

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Tantalus. Silence your passions, that you may confult your reason, and it will instruct you in all the duties of man. You will become acquainted with our destination, and will see that polity never misleads, never injures us, but when prostituted to serve the passions. You are better, Aristias, than you conceive: it is naturally impossible, that with your dispofitions you can continue long in an error. The opinions of our Sophists, having an air of novelty or boldness, may have furprifed your imagination; but you border on that age, when our experience should put us on suspecting our passions, and if the heart be not corrupted, we foon learn to fubdue them, or at least to oppose them.

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When Aristias had taken his leave, you see, said Phocion to me, with what doctrines the minds of our youth are tainted: no sooner do they come to perceive that every thing is not true, than they ridiculously hold every thing to be false. Intoxicated with conceit, they hew down all be-

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fore them. These fantastic heroes, in their philosophical fits, compute the grandeur of their supposed triumphs by the importance of those truths which they dare to attack. Though fillily shutting their eyes against evidence, and funk into an indolent scepticism concerning all things, yet do they imagine to have overthrown all things, and would perfuade the ignorant, that they have discussed all with unwearied application, and the keenest perspicacity. When we are for suppressing the voice and authority of reason, and reducing it to be the flave of passion, what security, what union, can there be among men? What is to be hoped from either people or ma-The republic is at the eve of gistrates? Aristias, believe me, will alter: his modest filence, while I laid his mistakes before him, is a good prefage. They are not endeared to him by any vice of his; being rather giddy, vain, and prefumptuous, than wicked, he will close with the irradiations of reason: I only wish all the Athenians were like him.

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There is no virtue, however obscure, which does not contribute to the happiness of mankind. The establishment of morality is the principal object of politics. No good government without good morals; they correct its defects. Aristias's objections. Phocion's replies.

Phocion, my dear Cleophanes, has not been mistaken; his words, like a ray of slame, has diffused a light through Aristias's whole mind. Yesterday this young man came to my house, and in such extreme confusion that he could scarce look me in the face. Oh! the wisdom of Phocion, cried he, into what errors had I ran! but his excellent discourse has revived in my heart a taste for truth and virtue, which I was wickedly labouring to destroy. I am charmed with his judgment and knowledge, though mortifying to my

as contemptible to him as I now am to myself! Ever since I left him, I have been wholly taken up in reflecting on his doctrine. I am equally amazed at my presumption in affecting to know every thing, and at my weakness in being misled by some extravagant sophisms. In thus beginning to know myself, I begin to feel a kind of tranquillity which I believe is never sound with error. I passionately long to see Phocion again; yet dread appearing before him. I am assaid that he will not yet find me worthy to be his hearer.

Aristias, answered I, the Sophists indeed slame against any one who dares to attack their opinions; and this because it is only avarice which opens their mouths. They apprehend their lectures may come to be exploded, because they mercenarily make a trade of them. But a philosopher has no other interest than that of truth, and too well knows what very great

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great strangers we naturally are to it, not to be indulgent. Phocion, I will answer for it, will, on account of your age, excuse your having suffered yourself to be misled by the Sophists and by the passions, still more artful and infinuating than they. He will be pleased with your repentance, and perhaps with your very errors, since you renounce them; for to amend is always commendable: so dismiss your fears, Aristias, and chearfully come along with me, and hear more truths: and may the gods make them beneficial to the republic!

Joy to you of your victory, said I to Phocion, making up to him. Here is Aristias; you have restored him to reason at an age which prides itself in spurning at it. Has, then, the presence of a virtuous man, my dear Cleophanes, the same power as the altars of the gods, which comfort and encourage those suppliants who duly approach them. Aristias, now recover from his confusion, assured Phocion,

cion, that he acknowledged all the dignity and prerogatives of reason. It is a strange folly, said he, for a person to take on himself the appellation of a philosopher, at the fame time that he is debasing himfelf to the condition of brutes, and to pretend to reason, whilst he maintains that there is no fuch thing as reason. , I can hardly conceive how I have been fo bewildered as to believe, that it is a point of wisdom to obey the passions; daily experience shewing us their violence, their caprice, their injustice, and the danger Happiness unquestionably is the companion of order and peace; and the very passions themselves, from their irreconcilable contrariety, are in a perpetual state of war. What good can I expect from them, or rather what evils are not to be apprehended from them, without the interpolition of reason, their judge, and their arbiter? I have called to mind those short intervals of my life, in which I made reason my sole guide; and

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and, at the recollection, my heart over-flowed with an exquisite complacency far superior to any sensual gratification. Those blissful intervals I have compared with those times of error when my passions bear sway: my memory represented to me only pleasures intermixed with uneasiness, trouble, and repentance. My heart relucted against the remembrance.

I have taken a view of a more extenfive and varied theatre. There I have feen
the passions, like so many furies, spread
desolation over the whole earth, change
magistrates into pests of society, trample
on the most facred laws of mankind,
and overwhelm the most potent empires
with rapid destruction. Having since
consulted my reason, I have now a glimpse
of truth, and conceive myself to be in
the way leading to it; but my former deviations have taught me to mistrust myself,
I dare not, Phocion, proceed without your
help; I cannot presume, by myself, to
enter the sanctuary of that sublime polity,

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the fole foundation and instrument of which is virtue: I should be afraid of profaning it. O Phocion, be my guide, exalt my ideas, and give me quite a new mind.

Aristias, my dear Aristias, answered Phocion, affectionately embracing him, your progreffes exceed all that I could have expected. How noble is it in you to have already dared to pull off from the paffions that destructive mask under which they hide themselves to deceive us! Now, there is no truth of which the discovery does not lye open to you. You are now perfuaded that reason is the conveyance by which the Author of nature fignifies his will to us. You are perfuaded that there is no other way to happiness, than through reason. Conclude then, my dear Aristias, that politics should be the minister and co-agent of Providence in human concerns: and that nothing is more contemptible than that deceitful art which assumes its name, though without any other 5(1)

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other rule than public prejudices and the passions of the multitude; and its instruments only craft, injustice, and violence. Thus flattering itself to carry its point by ways contrary to the eternal order of things, it sees the happiness which it imagined to grasp, vanish out of its hands.

The flave, who tills your grounds, is wifer than our legislators. That they may bring forth plentifully he has studied what culture the soil require: he has observed the feasons which nature has appointed for the production of every grain, herb, and fruit, and in this particular he never goes about making any exchange. Thus polity, after penetrating into the fecrets of nature, relating to the destination of society and the fources of its happiness, is constantly to follow her unerring example. Whenever it shall come to be so prudent as not to think itself more skilful than nature, the object of its capital application will be the fludy of morality, which teaches us to diffinguish the real virtues from those which.

which are merely nominal and imaginary; the creatures of prejudice, ignorance, and custom. Let its first care be the continual refinement of morals. In bestowing the stress of its attention on the virtues which are the most necessary to society, its principal aim should be to take the most effectual measures for hindering the passions from gaining the victory in that perpetual conflict which our reason is condemned to maintain against them. Its scope, in a word, is to keep the passions under strict subjection; and, by thus strengthening the sovereignty of reason, to give a superior activity to the virtues.

Let us now enter on a detail of those virtues, which politics should more especially cultivate. But first; Aristias, give me leave to ask you this question, When you buy a slave, is it a matter of indifference to you, whether he be given to gluttony, sloth, thest, and lying? or whether he be possessed of the qualities opposite to those vices? Is it not better for you to have an honest,

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honest, humane, and friendly neighbour? is it alike to you, whether your friend be choleric, impatient, licentious, sensual, and unjust, or whether he uniformly acts up to the character of a worthy man? When a marriage, which I wish may be very happy, shall raise you to the dignity of sather of a family, will you make it no concern whether your children betake themselves to good or bad courses, or whether your spouse gives herself up to the dissipation and profligacy of a courtesan, or as a modest, chaste, and good house-wise?

I do not expect your answer, continued Phocion; I know what it must be. Seeing then we can scarce be happy in the midst of our families, where we pass the far greater part of our life, without a virtuous wife, virtuous children, virtuous friends and neighbours, and even virtuous slaves, why should polity overlook this important branch of our happiness? I am not to be told that we Athenians,

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under pretence of a certain elevation of mind, which passes my comprehension, now make a jest of the domestic virtues. One would think that an honest man was but a low character, unless accompanied with that of an hero. This is, because the corruption which prevails within our houses having rendered us incapable of practifing the domestic virtues, we have thought fit to despise them as beneath a great foul. A modest behaviour is accounted clownishness or pusillanimity. We would have our houses a kind of asylum where the law shall not intrude to remind us of our duties; and yet it was amidst families where affectionate and prudent parents first laid down the models of laws and regulated focieties. For magistrates to be charged with our domestic cares is, fay we, degrading them; but the reality is, that we would give a loofe to our immoralities without being called to an account for licentiousness. Grown quite out of conceit with the plainness of our ancestors,

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cestors, we are for elegance and parade even in the virtues; strange ignorance both of their nature and of the tye by which they are connected with one another!

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I lay little stress on the sublime qualities of those heroes who are all for an ample theatre and crowds of spectators. It is only by the uniform practice of the domestic virtues, that a people can be fitted for the exertion of the public vir-He who knows not what it is to tues. be a husband, a father, a friend, or a neighbour, cannot be a patriot. It is domestic manners, which at length give the turn to public manners. Can you think, Aristias, that they who are used to act arbitrarily in their families, and immorally towards one another in the common course of life, will at once assume new tempers and a new genius on being introduced into the public affembly or the senate? or that their passions and their vices will lye dormant, when the interest

of the republic comes in any competition with theirs? This was more than Lycurgus, less presumptuous than our Sophists and orators, expected: accordingly he applied himself, as the capital business, to form the domestic morals of his countrymen. His laws for making honest men are far more in number than all those for regulating the forms of the senate, and settling the ceremonial and proceedings in the assembly of the Forum, put together. He knew that virtuous men, as by instinct, anticipate their duties, and will ever both have and make good magistrates.

How indeed should a state have a succession of good men at the head of its affairs, unless it begins with habituating its citizens to the practice of the duties of private life. A people must have a declared esteem for virtue, that the magistrates may act with the resolution and sirmness necessary to the due discharge of their office. A people must likewise have a

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love for justice, as then they will take care to have a magistrate who on all occasions will be just, consistent, and inflexible as the law itself. Corrupt citizens will dread fuch a magistrate; his probity would be an insupportable curb to them. They would reject him for a Cleon, who foments their vices, whose heart is open to felfishness, and in whose remiss and weak hand the scales of justice are not duly balanced.

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Judge, my dear Aristias, of the doctrine which I lay down by the transactions in our republic which our own times have feen. No fooner had (1) Pericles corrupted our manners, under colour of polishing them; no fooner did we begin to affect curiofity in the useless arts, splendor in our shews, magnificence in our furniture, delicacy on our tables; no sooner had the proftitutes, once held in the lowest contempt, now the arbitresses of taste, virtue, and accomplishments, opened a school of gallantry and idleness for our youth:

youth: in a word, no fooner did we begin to delight in voluptuousness, elegancy, riches, and pay a regard to opulence, than we have been punished for it; a graceful air, parade, luxury, and wealth, now supplying the want of talents, and being fo many qualifications for promotion to the highest offices. What republic must not have funk under those contemptible wretches who have governed us fince Pericles? Voluptuous, giddy, and covetous, as they were, they confidered the administration intrusted to them only as a means for the more fure and easy gratification of their passions. The homage and opinions of a multitude no less vicious than themselves, being a matter of indifference to them, would they thwart their defires, or do violence to themfelves for the fake of the public good? In difficult exigencies all their study was how to hoodwink and impose on the spectators. Governing only by cabals and intrigues, their chief aim was to mould the

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the laws into a conformity with their defires. They had at most the address or consideration to keep in with a few virtuous citizens, and do two or three good things with much oftentation and solemnity, that this stolen reputation might be a shelter to their crimes.

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Hold it for certain, Aristias, that in the eye of politicks no virtue is small, and that it cannot safely neglect any one. I will even go so far as to affirm, that the laws most essential to the safety and happiness of states are those relating to the rectitude of morals. I own, I do not conceive what Sophists can mean when they talk of a good or bad government; unless by these words they would signify a form of polity, which is more or less adapted to restrain the passions of all ranks, the governors and the governed, strengthen or weaken the authority of the laws.

I have often heard Plato discuss this point; he excepted against (2) monarchy,
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aristocracy, and democracy. Never, faid he, are the laws a fecurity under those administrations which leave too free a range to the passions. He was afraid of the power of a prince, who being fole legislator, makes himself sole judge of the justice of his laws. In an aristocracy he feared the pride and avarice ef the great, who, imagining themselves lords of all, Iwill wantonly facrifice the interest of the public to their own private advantages. In a mere democracy he dreaded the fallies of a multitude ever blind, ever extreme in its defires, and which to-morrow will with outrageous fury exclaim against what to-day it praises with enthusiastic effuvions. bloow your abrow blant vd stelfing

That great man, continued Phocion, was for a judicious mixture of all these governments, that the public power being divided among different parties, they might be proper correctives and balances to each other. But, my dear Aristias, he did not stop here; Socrates's disciples know mankind

kind too well to think that any government, however well conftituted in the combination of all its parts, could fubfift without the aid of domestic morals. his Republic, and you will fee how very attentive he is to master the passions, and what strict rules he prescribes to virtue. If in some points he may have overshot the boundaries of discretion, this very excess of precaution manifests how very necessary he held morality to the prefervation of his government.

Indeed, what avails laying down the wifest form of government to corrupt men, without making the correction of their vices the primary concern? The government of Lacedemon, when it came fresh out of Lycurgus's hands, was such as Plato preferred. The two kings, the fenate, and the people, being invested with a different prerogative, formed a mixed constitution, all the branches of which were kept in due order, by that kind of controul which they exercised on each other.

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other. Admirable as the proportions of this government were, it could not preferve Sparta from cabals, parties, tumults, and those disorders by which the other republics of Greece have been ruined, any longer than it took care to maintain Lycurgus's moral laws in their full vigour.

No fooner had Lyfander imported into his country the spoils and tributes of its conquered enemies, thus fomenting the germ of defire, which till then had lain checked, than avarice imperceptibly infinuated itself into the houses of the Spartans along with riches. The plainness of their fathers was foon exploded, as rustic and In republics a vice is never alone, or rather produces a hundred others. the Spartans became acquainted with the various ways of enjoying their fortune, they began to perfuade themselves that riches was a supplement for the want of merit, and from that time, respected perfons according to their fortunes: at length poverty po ac ne

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poverty fell into utter contempt, and the acquisition of wealth becoming a point of necessity, the Spartans were too much taken up with their own private business to attend to the usual concerns of the republic; and now the madding passions relaxed the exertion of government, which having imprudently suffered them to grow to a head was no longer able to keep them under.

The rich, stimulated by the dread of being stripped of their wealth, declared against the partition of the supreme authority and were for having all the power in their hands, the better to secure and increase their possessions. On the other hand, the commons, sometimes servile and sometimes insolent, had now only such ephori as became such a set of profligates. To go about putting a stop to the confusions of Lacedemon, by reviving the laws which sixed the limits of several powers appertaining to the kings, the senators, and the people, would, at present, be a fruitless endeavour. Where

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would be the use of laws, spurned at by the national manners, and to which ambition and avarice, prevalent as they now are, can no longer be brought to fubmit? Vice has enervated those falutary institutes, and it is the practice of virtue which alone can restore their force and influence. If temperance and frugality be not speedily called in to shore up and repair the remains of a government shaken by the licentiousness of passions, depend on it, my dear Aristias, those kings, those fenators, those ephori, once fo generous, fo wife, fo magnanimous in the exercise of their authority, will foon grow tired of that kind of forced moderation, fuch as it is, which they still affect; and, so far from being the magistrates, will be the oppressors of a republic, the mischief of whose intestine quarrels will one day cause it to fall an easy prey to some foreign enemy.

My dear Aristias, continued Phocion, shall I give you another instance of the power

power of morals? Take a view of Egypt, and you will fee that as the relaxness of them has in Lacedemon frustrated Lycurgus's wife government, their religious austerity did, in that once happy country. refine even despotism itself.

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The kings of Egypt had no superiors but the Gods, and, in some measure, even shared with them the veneration of their subjects. All their orders were so many facred and inviolable laws, and all ranks prostrated themselves before their throne in reverential filence. Whatever terror fuch an exalted power in the hands of one man might excite, never did the Egyptians feel any bad effect from it. Being a moral people, they thus made their fovereigns moral. It was out of the power of these unlimited monarchs to be avaricious, idle, profuse, or voluptuous. Every portion of their day was filled up with some stated duty. After offering a facrifice to the gods, and meditating in the temple on fome truth of the facred books, they

they were called away from themselves. to hear the complaints of the distressed, to decide the processes of their subjects. to hold councils, to dispatch orders into the provinces for the prevention of some grievance, or the execution of some beneficial scheme. Every thing, even to their very recreations and natural wants, were under the prescription of laws. Bathings, airings, and meals, had their appointed hours. The royal table might be termed an altar erected to frugality and moderation, the wine was measured, never more than two diffies, and these continually the fame. The palace had none of those faltuous decorations, which are fo many infults over the condition of subjects, and fwell the fovereign with vanity and loftiness. Love itself, Aristias, that passion too often To imperious and fo trifling, fo impatient and so enervate, was only an amusement after business: despotic as the monarch was, the law shut and opened the queen's apartment to him.

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Such was the foundation laid by the Egyptians for fecuring their happiness, Their vast country was as the dwelling of one numerous family, the father of which was the fovereign. The prince was fo taken up as a monarch, that he had not time to be a man: the constant and periodical returns of his occupations habituated his mind to regularity, and answered all the expedients which we, but often to little purpose, make use of to hinder our magistrates from abusing the authority with which they are intrusted. The pasfions being stifled in their lord's heart, and the laws restraining him from desiring or projecting any thing but what was good, the Egyptians would have been little the better for that liberty of which we are fo jealous. The laws, though made by only one person, were always just and impartial, and as fuch equally valued and obeyed by all the classes of the state. Thus, under despotism itself, morals made Egypt happy, and our antient philosophers

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phers used to account it the nursery of wisdom.

I feast on your discourses, cried Aristias, I find myself forcibly drawn by the strength of your reasonings, they raise me above myself. It is undoubtedly a profanation of politics, which renders focieties happy and flourishing, to bestow its name on that low and ever uncertain practice of artifice, intrigue and duplicity, which I accounted a great art, and which, after all, was invented only by ignorant persons, incapable of sublime ideas, or by bad citizens who had no other view in the administration of the republic than the baneful advantage of gratifying their own ambition and avarice. Morals must unquestionably be a basis to the law, and without their affiftance the legislator will raife only a disjointed edifice, which the least shock will overthrow.

But, Phocion, shall I own it to you, continued Aristias, with a downcast look and dejected accent; while I am yield-

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ing to the evidence of your arguments, my old prejudices feem to revolt against my reason. Egypt, once virtuous, was happy; and Lacedemon had not loft its prosperity, had it not first lost its morals. It undoubtedly becomes the wisdom of the Author of nature, that happiness should be the recompence of virtue, and calamity the chastisement of vice. Such is the most usual course of things; but is there no exception to these general laws? Does not he who has enacted them for reasons which it would be rash to search into, never deviate from them? Have we not fometimes feen empires found their aggrandifement on injustice, and flourish by means which morality detests? What virtue have the Persians who rule over all Asia? Philip, with all his fuccesses appears to me to have scarce any more virtue than we who are on the decline. It feems to me, that the men of intrigue are daily, by villanies and finister means, depriying good men of that recompense which is only

only due to probity. Why, by the same means, may not states be equally successful? We have seen tyrants usurp the sovereignty of their city, enjoy their rapine, and die quietly in their bed: whereas Socrates so far from being promoted to magistracy, never enjoyed any post, and met with judges who could condemn him to drink the satal potion of hemlock. Ah Phocion, what scandalous transactions occur in the history of the happiness and misery of mankind!

Softly, my dear Aristias, answered Phocion, this is by no means the language of your reason, but of your passions. You still confound dignities, riches, splendor, and power, with happiness; and thus you would make them the distinguishing reward of virtue: but the most they can afford is only a transitory pleasure, such as that arising from the deceitful caresses of a courtesan; and transitory pleasures are not happiness.

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You indeed frequently see worthless men rise to the chief offices of the state: but, depend on it, a high station is a real good only to the virtuous man who devotes himself to his country, whose abilities make it happy, or who at least omits nothing for that purpose. Happiness in every individual is the tranquility of mind; and this tranquility springs from the testimony of his own conscience, that he makes the rules of justice his guide. Those tyrants, those ambitious wretches, whose prosperity is the gaze of the multitude, groan inwardly under the weight of an administration, which their mad felfishness will not suffer them to refign. Would you could fee into their labouring hearts convulsed by fear, envy, hatred, avarice, and remorfe! My dear Aristias, do not be shocked at that appearance of prosperity which but too often diffuses a glare round vice. The promotion of the wicked, as the punishment both of themselves and of the peo-

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ple whom they rule over and who promote them, is rather a fresh proof, that it is to virtue alone that happiness is annexed.

You mention Socrates; but that cup of hemlock, which will be an eternal stain to our fathers, did not ruffle his tranquility. The wretches who contrived his death were not fure their calumnies would fucceed; but he was fure of his own innocence. As he did not complain, nor use any solicitation, and declined secretly making his escape from the rancour of his enemies, how can it be thought, that he was uneasy about the sentence, which he fo composedly expected? During the thirty days (4) which elapsed between his fentence and the execution of it, he continued his lectures to his pupils. He discoursed to them on the immortality of the foul, and of the felicity which accompanies virtue. The keenest eye could not perceive in him any struggle either to be, or any affectation to appear easy: or that

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he apprehended his imprisonment and death to be an objection against his doctrine. He considered death as we the setting of the sun or the approach of sleep. He thanked the gods for giving him an end which saved him the infirmities of age and the pangs of distempers. Athens alone was unhappy; and what a long train of calamities might not have been easily foretold to a city which was so blind and so corrupt as to put to death such a man as Socrates!

As to the prosperity of states, I allow, continued Phocion, that mighty empires have been formed by means contrary to all morality; but those states, though unjust, lawless, and ambitious, were they not less given up to voluptuousness, sloth, and the love of wealth, than the people whom they subdued? Were they not more inured to courage and discipline? Were they not less indifferent about their country; and were they not more eager after glory? It is not on account of Philip's

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want of virtue that we fear him, but because we have still less than he; and he avails himself of our vices to ruin us. Ambition, injustice, fraud, and violence may, to be sure, give rise to large empires; but this is because these vices are combated only by other vices. Besides, where is the advantage of this usurped greatness? There is no settling it on a solid soundation, how then can it constitute the prosperity of a state?

Is polity, missed by a prosperity of very short duration and always terminating in disgraceful catastrophes, to sacrifice suturity to the present instant? Oh! my dear Aristias, if you love your country, may the gods keep you from wishing to it such successes as would bring on its declension and overthrow. It is for going about to usurp the empire over Greece, that we and the Spartans now see our liberty in such imminent danger. The moderation of our cities had enabled them to repel Xerxes: and now their ambition

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is on the eve of fubjecting them to Philip. Our orators may declaim as long as they will about large provinces and opulence; but they do not contribute to the domestic happiness of the citizens, nor secure the republic against foreigners. What mighty benefit has accrued to the Perfians from their having conquered all Asia? Are they the freer for it? Does the subject enjoy his fortune with more quiet and confidence, fince that of the prince has received fuch over-grown accessions? A large empire must be very weak, as Agefilaus, with only a handful of foldiers, spread consternation even to Babylon itself. Another time I will lay open to you the proofs of this truth; but, for the present, only observe, Aristias, that if that Being, who is the protector of virtue, fometimes makes use of the vices of one people to destroy another more vicious, he usually breaks the instrument of his vengeance, after it has served his purpose. He does not act by miracles; but his proceedings F 3

arise from the natural consequence of the order appointed by him for the regular government of the world.

What I advance is no vain and rash conjecture; only let us consider the procedure and concurrence of the passions, together with the reciprocal motion which they communicate to each other; and from these you will see resulting that order so favourable to morality. Treachery, deceit, and craft, may furprize and impose on a state, not aware of their wiles, and at first obtain some successes; but their very fuccess rends asunder the veil under which they lurked and duplicity, by the miftrust and general hatred which it raises, comes at length to be entangled in the fnares which it had laid. Intimidated by the fear to which it gave rife, and deceived by its own artifices, never can it foresee all the dangers which threaten it, but is continually providing against chimerical accidents. Proceeding without any rule, it is only a chance if it succeeds, and arric

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and thus must it soon necessarily miscarry. Those Sophists (5) who labour to reduce perfidy to an art, and who take fuch pleasure in displaying accumulated examples of fuccessful villanies, are very careful to conceal from us the destructive consequences of them. Ever vague in their discourse, they never analize the causes to which injustice and perfidy owe their fuccesses; never will they settle the precise point, where, having furmounted all obstacles, they are fure of compassing their end. So very far from it, that the force of truth obliges the Sophists to confute themselves. They cannot help being fenfible that the short-lived pleasures of injustice are the forerunners of wretchedness. Why do they advise us to avoid hatred and contempt, as the two most destructive rocks in politics. Is not this allowing vice to be hurtful, acknowledging the value of virtue, and owning that its proceedings alone are really fafe and permanent.

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Should a people instead of artifice and fraud make use of force and violence against its enemies, it must necessarily feel those very fears which it creates. By increasing the number of its enemies, it draws on itself the suspicions of its allies: its pursuit of aggrandizement both multiplies its dangers and diminishes its strength. I will suppose it more fortunate than many nations, with whose history we are acquainted, who have been weakened and at length ruined by their repeated efforts after an increase of dominion; and so far from finking under the weight of the difficulties furrounding it, that the opposition of enemies is only a whet to its courage and abilities. The fatal instant of success comes; this people triumphs, but the victor perishes in the midst of his conflinelive rocks in politics.

Observe, my dear Aristias, it is only ambition, it is only avarice, which under the name of a false glory, can prompt men to become conquerors. And would

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it not be strange indeed, that those two passions, after flagrantly breaking through all the rights of mankind, should make a discrete use of victory, by which the most moderate are apt to be too much elevated? Sefostris, not fatisfied with reigning over Egypt, violates those excellent laws of which I was just now giving you an account. He undertakes the conquest of Asia; and at first the hardy temperate and courageous Egyptians, whom he had levied to fatisfy his unjust ambition, carry all before them. But his victorious foldiers foon gave in to the vices and customs of the conquered nations; and, foftened by fenfuality and wealth, imported into their country the spoils of the East. The people, gazing at a fatal spectacle which cherished in them the seeds of ambition and avarice, conceit themselves at the height of glory and prosperity; whilst virtue, now declining in their debauched hearts, is about quitting their country; and the punishment of Egypt begins amidst acclamations

clamations and rejoicings. A prefumptuous fecurity disorders the springs of government; all the antient ordinances are foon trampled on by the passions. Sesos. tris's fuccessors, infatuated by their excesfive greatness, became voluptuous tyrants, and the more terrible, as, being weakened by the subversion of the laws, they did not think themselves safe. They were afraid of subjects, whom luxury and pride, poverty and riches, had rendered both cowardly and infolent: and their defenceless kingdom, disturbed rather by tumults than revolts, will certainly become an easy prey to the first conqueror who would make himself master of it.

History furnishes us with a thousand similar examples. The Medes, in subjecting the Assyrians, lost the morals and laws which they owed to Dejoces's wisdom; an excess of prosperity proved the period of their happiness, and facilitated the conquest of them to the Persians, who, in their turn, softened and depraved as soon

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as they became conquerors, founded a great empire which had all the fymptoms of a speedy declension. How many documents has politics before its eyes, exhibiting its real ends and duties, if it would know them? Shall I, my dear Ariftias, hold up to you the domestic calamities of Greece? Our brilliant fuccesses during the Median war, though there we were only on the defensive, have proved able to draw us from the virtues of our fathers; what havock then must not the succeffes of a war undertaken through ambition and avarice make among the morals of a people? The epocha of the ambition and of the decay of Athens is one and the same. We ruined ourselves, when we were for making ourselves masters of our allies; and Lacedemon, after conquering us, was no longer able to defend itself so much as against the Thebans.

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Philip is now taking advantage of our divisions and vices. To subdue and enslave us is his capital scheme: but see how art-

ful his ambition borrows the mask of moderation, justice, and even beneficence; and herein it is that he is indeed to be feared. He patronifes, he strengthens in Macedonia, the virtues which are forfaking us; he makes his people fober, active, patient, laborious, and brave. Glorious virtues! but which, after all, by the wrong use this second Sesostris puts them to, will only procure to the Macedonians a false happiness. Were this prince possessed of true magnanimity, had he a fense of his duty so as to prefer it to the pursuits of his vanity and ambition, he would improve the fortunate circumstances in which he finds himself. Far from fomenting our vices, in order to pave his way to the empire of Greece, he would employ his talents in affifting us to reform ourselves; he would endeavour to gain for Macedonia the respect which Lacedemon formerly enjoyed; instead of dividing us, he would labour to reunite us and make the Greeks and Macedonians one strongly cemented

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cemented people of cordial friends and allies, all secure, all happy, and their country inaccessible to the attacks of foreigners.

By fuch a conduct Philip would procure to his nation a lasting happiness; but having no farther regard for virtue, than as subservient to the purposes of his ambition, I will take on me, without infringing on the prerogatives of the Delphian oracle, to foretel that this rifing fortune of the Macedonians, formed and conducted with fuch skill, courage, and genius in the prince, and fuch virtue on the fubject's fide, will foon come to nothing: the very moment, when their empire shall attain as it were to its zenith of power and glory, will be the epocha of its declen-His successes will at length fion (6). open his neighbours eyes: his conquests ffir up against him more enemies than they will gain him subjects. The qualities which we now admire in the Macedonians will be superseded by the vices

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of the conquered. Macedonia will be wretched, and in time meet with a conqueror.

My dear Ariftias, for the politics of our Sophists to make a people lastingly happy, the human heart must be totally changed. Were it only from our bare reason that we hate injustice, deceit, violence, ambition, avarice, &c. possibly there might be a way of dazzling it, deceiving it, and hoodwinking it with prejudices which it would never be able to remove; but it is likewise from our very passions, which detest those vices in our equals, kindle at any appearance of them, and inveigh against them with implacable indignation, that an unjust, an infiduous man is looked on with an evil eye by his fellow citizens, whilft a grafping, ambitious and haughty republic is suspected and hated by its neighbours; that is, whilft the nature of man continues as it is, persuade yourself that politics is not to look for the fource and foundation of profpro pro to but

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prosperity out of virtue. I should now proceed to the means by which politics is to corroborate national virtue in a state; but, my dear Aristias, said Phocion, this shall suffice for the present, lest truth may suffer by my tiring you: and should any doubts remain concerning what we have been discoursing of, the sequel of our conversations, I hope, will remove them.

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CONVERSATION III.

Methods which politics should employ to render a people virtuous. The virtues it ought chiefly to cultivate; temperance, love of labour, love of glory. The necessity of religion.

Aristias and I were again with Phocion. To-day, said I to him, is our Panathenæa, and how can we better celebrate a sessival consecrated to Minerva, and appointed to perpetuate the remembrance of Theseus's bringing together in Athens the several people of Attica, than by hearing your farther instructions in morality and politics.

I am too much obliged to Aristias, answered Phocion, for prefering my grave discourse to the sight of our festivals, not to comply with your defire; and probably added he, smiling, Minerva who looks on end mo

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on our Panathenæas with much indifference, fince we are come to celebrate it with more pomp and less virtue than our fathers, will dispense with our increasing the crowd there.

Since you are so inclined let us then reassume our conversations. I have proved to you, continued Phocion, that virtue links men together by inspiring them with amutual confidence; and that, on the contrary, vice divides them, and makes them fuspicious of one another. I have shewn you, that there is no virtue but what is of use to society; yet these articles are not fufficient alone to conduct all the various operations of polity. Though every virtue deserves cultivation, yet are not all intitled to the same care and attention in the legislator and magistrates. Some do not so directly and so immediately relate to what makes and confolidates the welfare of citizens and the fafety of the republic. All virtues do not extend their roots to a like extent: all have not a stem of equal ftrength.

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ftrength. Some even stand in need of a support; without such help they wither and languish. The branches of some are larger and yield a greater plenty of fruit: fome there are which may be faid to fertilize all the neighbouring ground; you fee a thousand private virtues springing up about them without any visible feed, and not requiring any culture. Politics, my dear Aristias, if it considers the virtues, according to their order in dignity and excellence, places at the head of them juftice, prudence, and courage; and harmonifing with morality it shews us, that from these three fources flow order, peace, safety, and in a word every thing that is really defirable to men. The great object of politics is to facilitate to us the practice of those three virtues. But it is too well acquainted with the activity of our paffions, and the fluggishness of our reason, to expect we shall be brought to a habit of them, unless by familiarizing us before hand with other virtues, the exercise and motions dreneth

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motions of which are more under her command, and excluding from our heart those vices which hinder us from being just, wife and courageous.

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A strange fort of a politician would that legislator be who should think that it is only making laws, and men would obey them of course. He may have settled the rights of every citizen, and laid down fixed bounds for justice; but this is doing little or nothing: if our passions are left to act, they will foon have broken down those fences; a thousand chimerical pretences will fet aside legality. Be the laws ever fo well framed, injustice, being feconded by cunning and chicanery, and emboldened by impunity, will foon become the general principle. Suppose a proclamation were made in the marketplace of Sibaris, ordering every citizen to have fuch a stock of courage, as to dye on the spot in battle, rather than give ground, and in the administration of the republic to face the dangers to which a G 2 magif-

magistrate is sometimes exposed: take my word for it, fuch an ordinance will have no manner of effect. The Sibarites will continue effeminate, and not shake off their beloved gratifications to put on hardiness and courage. The law might prescribe to us Athenians the most wife policy in our public deliberations, to preferve us from levity and precipitation, and force us maturely to weigh and examine the concerns of our country; yet, should we become so prudent as to conform to the prescription, it would be rather as coinciding with fome of our passions, than from any concern for the republic.

That legislator who knows not on what virtues justice, prudence, and courage, must as it were be grafted; or who knows not how to bring men to the love and practice of those virtues, will find that all his plaufible laws will have done no manner of good to fociety. There are in reality, my dearest Aristias, some virtues which are bases and supports to others: these virtues,

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virtues, which I call mothers or auxiliaries, and which take the lead in the political order, are four: temperance, love of labour, love of glory, and respect for the gods.

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By temperance, continued Phocion, I mean that virtue which bringing us to be fatisfied with only fuch things as are abfolutely necessary to our preservation renders our wants both fewer and cheaper; He who does not study the useful art of being eafy at a small expence will always be uneafy. You know what Socrates used to say to Euthydemus, that the voluptuous are of all men the most senseless: by immerfing themselves in delights they flatten the feelings of pleasure; they have not the fense to endure hunger and thirst, and withstand the first inticements of love and the approaches of fleep; their foolish attention to prevent defire palls every enjoyment.

Voluptuousness sells its favours too dear, it requires too many hands, too much time G 3 and

and too much labour in the composition of its vapid happiness, that any system of politics for making a voluptuous people happy must necessarily prove abortive. Scarce has voluptuousness begun to enjoy than it is cloved, and with disdainful caprice it rejects what a little before it had passionately defired. Our Sophists, as usual, are quite out in their argumentations on this head, it being the appointment of nature that our wants should be the source of our pleasures, those gentlemen will have it that to multiply one would be increasing the other; but they did not confider that voluptuousness has neither the judgement nor liberality of nature. The latter with our wants has given us easy ways to satisfy every craving; whereas voluptuousness, which tickles, heats and stimulates our fancy with hopes and visions, never gives what it promises; it vanishes from us when we think we grasp it, and, so far from pleasure, leaves us disgust and lasat requires too many hands, too much shuth

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But among us the inconfistency of fenfualists is not the question; and though passion, instead of deceiving them, should fully make good its promifes, still, my dear Aristias, is voluptuousness to be excluded from our republic. The conceit of purchasing pleasures with money ever makes it both covetous and profuse; and never were justice, prudence, and courage feen blended with the vices which prompt to covetousness and prodigality. All the wealth of Persia would not enrich (2) Demades; nor Europe, Asia, and Africa, suffice for all the cravings of three such voluptuaries as he; how then should truth, candour, and integrity be the foul of his discourse? Country, justice, honour, every thing, will he make a fale of to any purchaser. This senator, being troubled with a bad digestion, would deliver up the state to him who should put into his hands an elixir for restoring the impaired tone of his stomach; and is it to be expected that fuch a one shall make enquiry whether G 4 any

any citizen be in want of the necessaries of life? Will you believe that magistrates thirsting after money and exhausted with pleasures are the properest persons to superintend the necessities of society; that they will be vigilant and resolute watchmen, foresee, prevent, or repel any dangers with which the republic may be threatened?

No fuch thing is to be dreamed of; it is what the republic itself no longer requires. When once the people's minds are infected by the fruition, or with the defire of fenfual pleasures, it will even like its magistrates the better for their show and luxury. When once a delicacy in pleasure has annexed to plainness the scandal of poverty, the wants of the citizens become too many for them to be satisfied with their circumstances. Their depraved foul being pregnant with the thefts which their hands have not yet had an opportunity of committing, they will drive a trade with their privileges, and fell their vote to the best any.

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best bidder. Office and dignity will be accounted only a means for growing more easily rich by unpunished villainies. The great posts civil and military will be sought for only with a view of making a fortune, to be squandered away in parade and revelry. Then is all lost, and only the vain shadow of a state remains. The laws are made a meer laughing-stock; passions domineer, and were the people still capable of any spirit and daringness, the manners would be serious and sanguinary.

Though on the heart's opening itself to every vice, sensuality and luxury did not stifle in it the principle of prudence and justice, though they affected only the body, the republic is no longer to expect from its softened citizens those watchings, labours, and hardships, on which its safety not seldom depends. Will our youth, spent with debaucheries and sleeping deep sunk in down, and thus called on to repel the sudden assault of an enemy who is scaling the walls, will such as these,

think you, show any thing of the vigour and intrepidity of the old Athenians, who used to sleep on the bare ground with their arms by them, and scorned fenfual indulgencies? It is not to be thought, fince the love of pleasure has striken its roots in us. I have feen, yes, I have feen the very descendants of the Marathon and Salamis heroes, moving towards the enemy with cowardly dispositions in their looks. The contagious example of the wealthy has corrupted the very poor, though not partaking of their gratifications. Where is the Athenian who does not murmur at the hardships of war and the rigour of our discipline, though so shamefully relaxed. Nature, throughout all Greece, is in a state of abjection; the present generation faints under those exercises which to our fathers were a sport; our arms weigh us down, and fuch is the pufillanimous degeneracy of cities through luxury, that we are grown afraid of those barbarians whom once it was scarce accounted any glory to defeat.

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What a profound knowledge, my dear Aristias, had Lycurgus of our virtues and vices? Think on his laws, digeft them in your mind, it was certainly some god who dictated them to him. You will never find him wandering into useless details, prohibiting a vice and not cutting off the very root of it, nor enjoining the practice of any virtue and neglecting that which is to be its principle or support. He does not allow a young married couple to give an immediate loofe to their transports, a bridegroom was not immediately to live in the same house as his bride, nay he was to get her favours by flealth. The end of these singular institutions was that the rites of marriage might not become an inlet to corruption and foftness, by being given up to the incontinency of voluptuousness, and lest the youth, satiated with lawful fruitions, might go in quest of those which were illicit and pernicious to families. Adultery was never heard of at Lacedemon, and what a happiness was menn this

this, if it be true, that any intrigue implies in the woman a base deslection from her duties, and in the man the art of seducing and corrupting reduced to principles; and thus the more dangerous, as keeping the mind continually on the stretch about trisles and shadows, which both incapacitate and indispose it either for planning or executing any thing elevated, or so much as useful.

Most legislators, for want of knowing the propensity of the semale sex to luxuriousness, and their great ascendency over us, have inconsiderately laid a snare to our manners in omitting to regulate those of women. Lycurgus saw they would communicate their vices to us if he did not implant our virtues into them. He made men of them, he inspired them with a generous contempt of those wants to which nature has not subjected them, he inured them to labour, satigue and hardship. Plato (3), encouraged by so illustrious an example, was even for making soldiers of them

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them in his Republic. He knew that the fewer our duties are the less we mind them; and in requiring a great deal from women, he justly expected that men would be brought to every thing.

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Lycurgus likewise appointed public meals in his city, and in these the great dainty was that black potage fo despised. These were his two principal institutions, and without their help, his prohibiting the use of money and unneceffary trades as both incitements to and the fewel of pernicious passions, would have been of little avail. From that time, the practice of the most difficult virtues and in the most heroic degree must have become familiar to the Spartans, it being the nature of temperance to bar the entrance of our heart against a host of vices, by reconciling us to our present fituation, and inclining us readily to any good action. Temperance naturally begets an indifference to riches, and with this indifference, as it implies a mind clear of

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of those many frivolous wants with which we are harraffed, are always united by a love of order and regard to justice. The fewer and less active the passions, the more at liberty is reason to affert its privileges. Yes, my dear Aristias, departed as we are from the simplicity of our fathers, it fignifies nothing for us to be daily making new laws and increasing our magistrates: this is an avowal of our depravation and, at the fame time, using only ineffectual remedies for our amendment. The chief magistrate and chief law of a republic must be temperance; and the best governed, the happiest state next to the Spartans, will be that which comes nearest to its frugality.

Such however is human weakness that every virtue has its instants of error, distraction, and lassitude. Temperance has as many enemies as there are kinds of pleasure, and however great its power may be, it must at last give way, unless polity take care that it may not have to grapple with

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with idleness and that listlessness which steals on us when both soul and body are unemployed. All the time in which the law leaves us to ourselves is virtually a space given to the passions for tempting, seducing, and subduing us: therefore to inspire the citizens with a love of work should be one of the chief views of a just polity; this virtue by imparting to the most simple and most decent pleasures a relish capable of satisfying us, keeps our fancy within bounds, and prevents its roving after some new gratification.

Do not, my dear Aristias, too hastily conclude, from this doctrine of mine, that every kind of work is advantageous to so-ciety; far from it, there is a kind of inaction, which perhaps would be less detrimental to a community. Observe that part which nature acts towards us. With all its bounteous liberality of such good things as are necessary to us, it has ordained that we shall purchase them by labour. The earth, unless fertilised by our

our hands, is barren; and by the order appointed for the production of its fruits. this labour though flight must be continual. Well, politics should imitate nature. If the labour it enjoins us be not fuited to our ability, if the hope which would make it to be undertaken with joy be difappointed, if it cannot answer our wants, there is no going through it with chearfulness, and it becomes the occupation or rather the punishment of a slave.

Egypt was wretched under the fucceffors of Sefostris, when the prince, instigated by an avarice infatiable, departed from these principles, and besides works, in themselves too hard, with which he faddled the subjects, the fruits of them redounded folely to himself. This chilled the hands of the Egyptians. The most active of nations funk into fluggishness, which is now its fole good: the state was at once oppressed by poverty and luxury; and the people growing refractory were used like wild beasts (5), whom nothing but

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but hardships could tame. In the mean time, how calamitous the condition of Egypt! Without the waters of the Nile scarce could the country have substitted its inhabitants. Amidst these monuments which seem intended to last as long as the world itself, and raised by an oppressed people for the ostentation of their masters, what will the prince do should an enemy invade the frontiers with a declared intent to strip him of all his idle grandeurs and tyrannical voluptuousness? Where will he find men to take the field for him? Is it to be thought the people will expose their lives to maintain his luxury, and perpetuate their own misery.

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At Tyre and Carthage, according to travellers, all hands are constantly at work; but may the gods keep us from making them our copies! Those very people, whose ingenuity and industry are so much cried up, have been the corrupters of nations, who, once contented with the wealth which prudent nature has distributed in every collections.

climate, lived happily, yet strangers to pomp and luxury, till the Tyrians and Carthaginians threw out their baits to them; they have now inveigled them into a fondness for rarities, dainties, and parade, and infidioufly talked them into a contempt of their own products and manufactures. Of how many crimes, how many misfortunes have not Tyrian purple and Carthaginian toys been the occafion! But it is to be hoped, Aristias, that these public corrupters have not escaped the malignant effects of their own poison. I never was at Tyre nor Carthage, yet, I dare fay, both those cities are unhappy. The love of work, which joined to temperance, is a great virtue, and has the same tendency to bridle and regulate our passions, is in the Carthaginians and Tyrians the creature of avarice and cupidity. As these two vices grow up and spread amidst opulence, the more violent and infatiable all the other paffions become. In those two republics the love

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of work can only debase the mind or swell it with pride; they must naturally consist of multitudes of hirelings, and a few

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Our countryman, Solon, wearied out with the tumults and feditions which the idleness of the people was continually raising among us, made several laws for the encouragement of work. A father who had not caused his fon to be taught fome trade could not claim any affiftance from him in his old age: this however was not a little abfurd, as contravening the eternal and inviolable laws of nature; and no man will ever be the better patriot for being discharged from his duty as a Every citizen was obliged to give an account how he lived and fpent his time before the Areopagus, a branch of whose business it was to punish idleness; and what was the end of all this mighty policy? Why, the choice of every one's employment being left to his own fancy instead of being appointed by the laws, H 2 made

made us all hirelings; so that our public assemblies now consist chiefly of dyers, shoe-makers, masons, farriers, shopmen, and brokers.

Our citizens, being thus left to follow mean and fervile occupations, which Lycurgus had allowed only to the Hilotes, must of course have contracted their manners; and what had become of the republic? Would the valour of our forefathers have ever shone in the records of fame for the glorious days of Marathon and Salamis? Would not all Greece have been at prefent governed by some haughty fatrap of the king of Persia? If by means of a fortunate concurrence of extraordinary circumstances, which are never to be confidently expected, other causes, by keeping up in a people of mechanics their former love of glory and freedom, had not disposed them to be implicitly (6) led by a Miltiades, Themistocles, and other fuch great men. When these causes, which were foreign to our constitution, after a gradual absim

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gradual decline, ceased to have any influence over our manners; and the republic, being governed by artisans, gave into the genius confequential to fuch a government, you know into what abasement and turpitude we fell. Public concerns were always decided by private in-Extreme and fickle in all our passions, fearful this hour, rash the next, cowardly and furious at the same time, we have never known our ffrength, nor our weakness, nor our resources; we never know the crisis for acting, never could we foresee or prevent dangers. With what face can one complain of fortune! Was she to work such miracles for us, that an affembly of artificers and tradef men should be just, prudent, and mag-gent by what artisans receive shoming

Every art necessary to the real wants of mankind is to be sure creditable; the danger of them is, when carried to an over nice curiosity, they give to things a value which they ought not to have, and H 3 intro-

introduce an expensive refinement of taste. I am delighted with the simplicity of manners in Homer's kings, who know the number of their sheep, and make ready their supper themselves: I admire queen Arcte spinning the stuff which her husband wears; and princess Nausica going herself in a tumbrel to wash her family's cloaths in the river. Any one may without disgrace be his own handicraftsman, it would really do him honour, and oh! that our customs were still so wise, our wants fo few, and our fortunes fo equal, as to admit of fuch industry. But in a republic where polity is no longer able to bring back the citizens to its primitive plainness and purity, arts make the whole wealth of those who practice them; it is only by what artifans receive from the persons of wealth who employ them, that they live, and work must of necessity (7) debase their soul; consequently, my dear Aristias, they are, by no means, fit to have the administration of the sovereignty put

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put into their hands. However, the law may declare them free men, and in some measure consider them as a class of citizens, yet is policy to look on them only as flaves, without any fuch thing as a country, and, in consequence, excluded from being members of political affem-All our greatest men, as Miltiades, Themistocles, Cymon; and others, favoured aristocracy. I fide with them, and this not from any motive of ambition or vanity; I am fensible of the rights of mankind, and the natural equality of individuals; the welfare of the republic is all I have in view; and it is for the good of the commonalty itself, as debased in manners and pinned down to ignorance by their professions and constant occupations, that they should not set at the helm of government.

Let not the state, however, be wanting in due kindness and encouragement to artificers and working men; great usefulness sets them above contempt or ri-

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gour. The magistrates are to provide that those classes may by work procure a comfortable fubfistence, otherwise they will become fo many enemies and turn against the state, like the Ilotes of Sparta; and then the magistracy must blame them? felves for half their guilt, and the very punishment of their revolt would not be altogether justifiable : a community, which is keeping up a purity of morals, will never admit of the invention of new arts. The history of the origin and progress of arts would not improbably be the hiftory of all and every one of our vices. Let us like the hardy Spartans entertain a firm perfuation that it is only by good and wholesome laws, and the steady practice of virtue, people are civilized, and not by heaps of costly fuperfluities, which, however luxury may prize, reason despifes and explodes. Lycurgus allowed the Lacedemonians to use only the hatchet and saw in making pieces of furniture for their houses. An admirable law! So that the taste

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tafte and refinements of the rich may not foon over-run us with useless and finical trades, do you take care that artificers be restrained in the most necessary arts from affecting polish and nicety in their works, but keep things within fome degree of coarfeness. I have heard Plato, a hundred times, pathetically lament the improvements in painting among us. One day, as I was in Minerva's temple, and add miring the overthrow of the giants, he gave me a twitch by the cloak, it is with pleasure I recollect it : These baubles, said he, will spoil you, what a waste of skills trouble, and genius is here to raise a dangerous admiration! In my republic a painter shall be obliged to make an end of his picture the fame day he begins wrefiling, throwing quoits, &c. it (8).

In a word, my dear Aristias, be it a maxim with you, that, in found policy, none but those of a landed estate should be capable of having a share in the government; it is only they who can properly be

be said to have a country. But that their leisure may not prove a mischief to the republic, these over-grown fortunes, by which the giddy commonalty in admiring them are depraved still more than the very proprietors, should be strictly prohibited by some severe law. The smallness of the estates would lay the owners under a necessity of keeping them in their own hands. Where custom is against this, it behoves the government to divert the citizens from their passions, which must be by increasing their duties and occupations.

What an admirable spectacle did the manners of antient Lacedemon exhibit! a people continually employed in the manly exercises of hunting, running, boxing, wrestling, throwing quoits, &c. whose very diversions made them intrepid and vigorous defenders of their country. After their labours they recreated themselves in schools, where they were taught not so much to declaim about the virtues, as among

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among us, but strictly to practife them. Every age, every hour among both sexes, had its peculiar occupations, so that time never hung on the Spartans hands; and being thus always in action, how could the passions, with all their artistice and vigilance, find one vacant minute to deceive, seduce and corrupt a Lacedemonian!

Hitherto, my dear Aristias, continued Phocion, I have in some measure set before you only the frailty, the wretchedness, and the ignominy of human nature: hitherto you have feen polity wholly busied in breaking those fetters, by which a host of passions, as linking man to his own interests, detach him from those of society. Now for frustrating the spells of those Circes who threaten us with the infamous fate of Ulysses's crew: observe the infinite wisdom of nature, the great helps with which it furnishes us. virtues fo highly necessary are timorous, quite contrary to our passions, listless and foreign

foreign to our heart; yet learn the valuable arcanum by which politics can impart to them an energy, a force superior to that of the very passions themselves. Learn by what methods the observance of those duties even of those which seem the most difficult and forbidden, may become easy, I will fay, delightful. It is by keeping awake in our hearts the love of glory, a noble and generous fentiment, that we come to know all the greatness of our origin and our destination. This is the fentiment which exalts us to an emulation of the spiritual essences; this gives us to know that we are the work of a deity.

In reality, Aristias, there is not a spring by which the foul is more strongly set in motion than the love of glory. Such is its impetus and nobleness, that it delights in opposition and conflict. How has it fignalized itself in subduing the refractory will, by victories over the most imperious and fiery paffions? Shall I enumerate all the

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the great men who, by its influence, have been hardened against sensuality and reconciled to poverty? The love of glory detaches us, in some measure, from ourselves; noble nature becomes as it were enchanted into a difregard of its preservation, and, when on facrificing our lives to that exalted principle, the imagery of a beautiful death beams on the foul, and inebriates it with a supernatural ardour. How many heroes, fince Cadmus, have been illustrious victims to the love of

Socrates, who was so well acquainted with the human heart, did not think it sufficient for exciting men to virtue barely to demonstrate that it makes us happy, and is its own reward. He was apprehenfive that the passions, in the present pleasure which they offer, would speak more powerfully than he, and thus have shut the ears of his disciples against his instructions; so that, to secure their attention and compliance, he held up glory

to them. In his school were formed the last good men who have done honour to our republic; and how happy, how flourishing would Athens still have been, had the laws and magistrates, as instruments of a sound polity, brought the citizens to what Socrates brought his disciples.

Though Barbarians are strangers to the love of glory; though that virtue, already much impaired in Greece, is daily becoming more scarce than a century ago, let it not be imagined that nature has been more bountiful to our forefathers than to us; or that it was pleased, by an unjust predilection, to distinguish us from foreign nations. No, her favours are equally distributed in all times and places; but it is not in all times and places that polity equally knows how to use them.

In the Median war the Thebans would have behaved with their usual courage, instead of scandalous poltroonery, had some hero, like Epaminondas, been at their head, and kindled anew in them that

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love of glory with which they were animated on the memorable day of Leuctra. Can it be thought, my dear Aristias, that this virtue can get footing in Persia, and bring forth any of its noble fruits: a contagious vapour has killed its very germ. Of the many recompences appointed in honour of virtue there is not one which fome vice has not the infolence to invest itself with. A court, drunk with voluptuousness, has no favours but for the ministers or the instruments of its pleafures, and that imfamous court is the foul of the whole empire. It will never bestow the government of a satrapiate on a man of sense and virtue; they hate and mistrust him too much to put any power into his hands. He who obtains any confiderable preferment in Persia must either be a man of very shallow parts, or fo mean spirited as to conceal his abilities.

The commonalty never weigh things; their ignorance naturally carries them to admire

admire whatever pleases, their folly, their pride, their avarice, their envy, and other fordid passions; and thus they mistake capree and fingularity for real wisdom and generofity. Depend on it, they will run after a glory which is only conceit and fashion, if morality and politics do not unite their happy guidance to put them in the right track, and foon will they wander out of it without light and direction; they will tire the judges of real merit with their ridiculous and noisy elogiums, and with themselves mislead many who have a well meaning love of glory, but for want of discernment know not where it is to

be fought.

When polity is once come to the knowledge of what is truly estimable, when it has, as I may fay, balanced the virtues, and gives the preference to those which are most beneficial to fociety and most difficult in practice, the state, so far from being lavish of honours, is to bestow them with a very strict economy. The value of sumbs

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glory falls as it becomes common. Let rewards be rare, and however defired by all, be the portion only of few; if given before hand, or out of caprice, no account will be made of them. Talents, fuch I mean as are useful to the commonwealth, have a just claim to honourable distinction. A mighty advantage, truly, that we have eminent painters, eminent players, and eminent sculptors! Wretched is that giddy nation, which, because their art requires fome genius, puts them on a level with the great foldier or able magistrate, and lavishes equal praises on them. Are we ever the happier, that among us painting is faid to animate canvass, and sculpture gives life to brafs and marble?

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Philip smiles at the splendour of our Panathenæas; it is matter of exultation to him, that our citizens never have enough of entertainments, concerts and shews. Formerly we bestowed statues on such only who had done signal service to their country, and those but rough hewn; Athens abounded

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in great men, and now we are little better than a people of painters and carvers. To be fure, Aristias, it most nearly concerns Athens that some among us, by dint of long practice, study and art, should arrive at great theatrical powers, so as to perform the parts of Priam, Hercules, Achilles and Ulysses to admiration; whilst, at the same time, nobody can act the part of a good citizen in the general assembly, nor of an able magistrate in the senate or areopagus.

But if a state confers the rewards of virtue on the talents of a vicious man, its distemper is desperate indeed; the confequence must be absolute ruin. Do you, my dear Aristias, rather dread those pernicious talents; they are glaring meteors misleading deceived travellers to precipices or miry swamps. In examining the causes of the prosperity and the overthrow of the several Grecian republics, I have always observed that a virtuous people is never without those talents which are necessary

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cessary to it, and that talents, when not accompanied with virtue, are at best but useless. What benefit would have accrued to Thebes from the eminent personages Epaminondas and Pelopidas, if with their great posts they had been covetous, ambitious and jealous of each other? Greece formerly owed its preservation to that bold but most prudent motion of Themistocles, who advised our fathers to leave their city to Xerxes, remove their wives and children, and the aged, to Salamis, and build a fleet with the timber of their houses. What a happiness is it for us that our fathers could give up their private interest to the public exigency! otherwise what would the talents of that great man have fignified to us now! Had the morals of Aristides and Cimon been depraved and mean as those of our abandoned times, they would have declared against a project of which they themselves were not the authors. They would rather have feen the republic and all Greece overthrown than be

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be faved by another. It was the difinterestedness of the public manners that allowed Themistocles to approve himself a great man (9), and to defeat the Persians.

But farther, my dear Aristias, to those baneful talents of vicious men have been owing all the misfortunes of Greece. Vice when ignorant and blockish can do little hurt; it is when combined with abilities and talents, and thus infnaring the mind by soothing sophistry, that it gives the republic a fatal blow.

If any beneficial institution in it cramps the ambition or avarice of the citizens, some corrupt man shall exert his misplaced talents to explode it, and his elocution at length unhappily succeeds so far as to abolish laws which were the basis of public order and the preservatives of rectitude. Is there a defect in its constitution? the designing orator plies his engines, till he batters it down, and exalts himself on its ruins. Such always was the practice of those tyrants who have usurped the sovereignty

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vereignty of their cities. They employed their genius in eluding the force of the laws, and in defeating the authority or the vigilance of the magistrates. They spread surmises, they created fears, or excited hopes, in order to kindle feuds and quarrels; and these they somented with so much art as to beget a persuasion that the public good was all their scope. Every slight dissention when it made for their interest, was blown up to a kind of civil war, and under colour of favouring men of merit, and restoring tranquility and justice, they carried on the most pestilential devices, and set up a lawless tyranny.

Pericles, whose superior genius might have made not only Athens but all Greece happy, did not stick at corrupting (10) our morals, to cajole and gain the commonalty; he made us the tyrants of our allies to make himself be thought necessary; and lastly kindled the fatal Peloponnesian war to shore up his tottering interest, and save himself from being called

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to an account for his male-administra-The ambitious Lyfander, with like talents, had like views, and to open a way to the throne, from which by law he was excluded, bent all his endeavours to overthrow the government of his country. Instead of restoring the old laws to their proper force, and repairing the fad breaches which the convulfions of a long war had made in the national morals, he was labouring underhand to infect the Lacedemonians with his vices. He imposed on their love for their country, he made a fool of their love of glory, and under colour of strengthening their power, brought them to be covetous and ambitious, and thus ruined both their strength and repu-What cause have we to lament that Alcibiades, that strange compound of vices, accomplishments and abilities, ever came into being? Yet unhappily all his accomplishments do not in any wife compensate for the havoc which his vices have made among us.

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The whole universe, my dear Aristias, is but one vast picture of errors in politics. It is generally wandering in purfuit of a false glory; to how many prejudices, nay vices, has it not procured respect? Very seldom does it employ fit means for promoting a love of glory. The delicacy of this fentiment, how jealous it is of its rights, the circumspection it requires, are what the world feem not to have in the least understood. Threats irritate it, and fear totally extinguish it. Who can think that Draco's bloody laws should have been formed among a free people, and to make them virtuous? The virtues of a flave are all we could have derived from them, had we been so abject as to comply with fuch impositions. Capital punishments cannot be too rare, whereas he inflicts them on very flender transgressions. That the love of glory may become more active and more general, the punishment of guilt should be only disgrace. The putting all vices on a level is an extravagant mo-

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rality.

rality, dictated by a blind detestation of vice: its aim is to create a love of virtue, and it destroys all sentiment of humanity, which is the very foundation of virtue. Though Critias and his fellows shed blood so wantonly, do you reserve death as the peculiar punishment of those base souls who are capable only of such crimes as require no courage, or those caitists whose atrociousness and obduracy shew them lost to all sense of virtue.

It is the public esteem alone, that natural reward of the love of glory, that can raise our soul to a proper degree of elevation. To go about inviting men to great actions otherwise than by a laurel wreath or a statue, shews little knowledge of mankind. It is debasing, it is profaning virtue, to offer it such a prize, as, naturally, is desirable only to covetousness and avidity. The king of Persia seems to make no more of honour than a merchandize estimated by its value in gold and silver. If Philip's abilities were no greater than those of the

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Afiatic monarch, Greece would be very easy about him. The great use to which he puts his gold, is making and buying traitors at Athens; among us indeed he distributes it plentifully, and at home is as sparing of it. To his artful conciliation of the publick esteem of his subjects, it is owing that Macedonia, which once scarce afforded so much as good slaves, now begins to produce valuable citizens, capable of all the duties, and equal to all the wants of fociety. Could the hopes of acquiring a great fortune prompt to heroism, would not possession and enjoyment extinguish it? In Persia the question is, what may this reward which has been conferred on me be worth? How much does such a government bring in? What may be the perquifites of fuch a place at court? These are fine fruits of that lavish and blind policy of Cyrus's fuccessors. Mistaken princes! all you have done in loading your courtiers with riches, is making flaves and mercenaries of them; that

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that now they no longer deserve any other rewards than those they receive.

I would hope, my dear Aristias, that the reflections which I have now offered to you, fufficiently evince how readily temperance, the love of work and the love of glory, by ridding us of a crowd of paffions detrimental to the welfare of fociety, carry us to the practice of justice, prudence, and courage. I shall not, however, stop here; for our passions, being always awakened by the objects which strike our imagination and senses, are in continual action, and our reason, as subject to frequent languors, is but too much difposed to let itself be deceived. However folidly established the empire of good morals may appear by the concurrence of many virtues mutually supporting and strengthening each other, let us not whilst our magistrates are no more than men, flatter ourselves that it is not to be fhaken. You will take all the precautions laid down by Socrates and Plato to make placepl th co ex tiz wl of cha

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place-men so many Aristides's, granted: they shall be both indefatigable and incorruptible, I allow it. Yet will these your excellent magistrates still be men; the citizens outward actions is all they see, that when they come to interpose in support of morality and of the violated laws, and chastise any notorious infractions of them, the remedy will often be found too late. Much is it to be wished, that in order to kill the very germ of vice, magistrates could see into our very consciences, that they could sound the deeps of our hearts, and call our thoughts and desires to account at their birth.

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But this penetration the gods have referved for themselves alone, and as the privilege of seeing into thoughts and intentions, if granted to a man, would strengthen his tyranny, as giving full range to the magistrate's passions, which perhaps do more mischief to society than those of a citizen, I wish all men were fully persuaded of this important truth,

that there is another life, in which providence, which rules the world, and fees the most fecret motions of our hearts, will punish vice and reward virtue. This doctrine, which stands founded on the divine justice, which our reason rejoices in, and which is fo adapted to our wants, is terrible only to our passions. It is to amaze and stagger by paradoxes, or to shake off the yoke of a falutary dread, that the Sophisters have disowned that supreme Being, who is the universal principle, and whose name is written in indelible characters on every part of his infinite works. They have ridiculously advanced that chance made all things, and fuperintends all things, or rather superintends nothing. For the ease of I know not what flothful and fenfual deities of their own making, they deny that they give themfelves any concern about the confusion and buftle of this low earth. If the gloomy river which nine times furrounds the manfion of the dead, those ever flowery fields, audathat

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audacious Ixion's wheel, Prometheus's vulture, and the Eumenides with their serpents, be but ingenious sictions, am I therefore to conclude that no manner of recompence awaits virtue, nor punishment vice, after death; and that it is downight folly to put ourselves to the trouble of checking our passions, and cultivating virtue.

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It is not without conflict, and even fears, that we commit the first act of injustice; the foul recoils, and often cannot be brought to it; in a word, guilt has its degrees, and it is by gradual practice that a villain is inured to villainy. First he makes himfelf familiar with ideas of guilt, then hatches means for eluding the magistrate's watchfulness and the strictness of the laws. In planning an act of injustice we come to be pleased with it, we hug ourselves for the artifice, we anticipate the pleasure of its execution, and at length carry it through boldly and without any remorfe. Whereas, had the criminal known that there is a judge

a judge from whom nothing can be concealed, and whose punishments he could not escape, fear must have produced a good effect in his heart whilst impressible, and have restrained his passions when they were yet sensible of a superior sway.

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The Sophists, my dear Aristias, make a pother that religion and virtue do not go together; that they who are distinguished for the former have little of the latter; but they quite mistake the point, dignifying with the appellation of religion what in reality is only superstition or hypocrify, or at best, form. They give the name of a pious man to that oaf who takes up with fome ceremonies and expiations, without any knowledge of what heaven enjoins or forbids; and to that knave who makes a shew of fearing the gods, that he may the better deceive men: but if religion be holy, like the infinite and eternal God, whom it worships, how greatly must it corroborate the laws? It cannot but strike the passions with caution,

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tion, it must excite a dread of guilt. The impiety of Salmoneus and Ajax, their imaginary gods being like themselves, proves nothing; I will even allow that there may be wretches who in their profane freaks, infult not Mars or Venus, or any other Homerical deity, but even attack that supreme Being whom Socrates worshipped; well and and what will the Sophists infer from thence? If ten or a dozen hardened profligates are not wrought on by a regulation, is it therefore useless and inconsequential to all mankind? If laws, magistrates, and the penalties appointed by polity to keep men from guilt are of no effect on some callous minds, is legislation to be therefore set aside, as of no use to direct and keep us in the right way? Must laws be abolished and magistrates be divested of their authority?

I am not ignorant how very much we are flaves to our fenses. Passions unquestionably so disorder our reason as to warp us aside from the fear of God; still is that fear an additional check: besides, their

their ebriety is not perpetual. Reason has its instants of reflection, when the thoughts of a vindictive God must make the guilty shudder, and fill him with salutary perturbation. At last comes on senility, the passions droop, and religious sentiments at least cause those evils to be repaired which they came too late to prevent. We lament, we detest our errors, and set patterns of virtue by which young men may learn their duty.

I should again, dearest Cleophanes, inlarge on the love of our country, had Phocion thought sit to answer Aristias's impatience. To-day said he let us confine ourselves to the examination of the virtues I have been speaking of; to-morrow, I will fully gratify your curiosity.

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CONVERSATION IV.

Of the love of one's country, and of mankind. Of the virtues necessary to a republic for preventing the dangers with which it may be threatened by the passions of its neighbours.

HOCION had appointed his country-house for our fourth conversation, and I went thither yesterday with Aristias. Oh! the happy Melita! fortunate hamlet, my dear Cleophanes, in being the retreat of the wifest of men! It is there that Phocion, as great as at the head of our armies, plans the fafety of the republic, and cultivates with his victorious hands the fmall family-estate transmitted to him from his ancestors. The wife of him who has carried war into the richest provinces, was kneading (1) bread when we entered the place, and Phocion himself drawing water from the K well

well to water fome common excellent vegetables which he had fown, and their flave feemed in his officiousness only as an humble friend. Well might Homer fay, the best ornament of a house is its owner's virtue! I thought myself as entering in a temple full of the god who dwells in it; and Aristias's countenance spoke the respect with which he was strikken. How august sometimes is even poverty? But of this, my dear Cleophanes, the greater part of our citizens know nothing; they imagine that the more they decorate their houses with statues, vases, curious paintings, the more shall they be esteemed and admired: whereas they only cause their foolish impudence, in thus raising trophies to their rapine and injustice, to be wondered at.

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Hitherto, fays Phocion to us, after we had intreated him to continue his instructions, we talked of the virtues which polity ought to look upon as the foundations of society, and the principles of good

good order. If you are willing, we shall enter to-day into fome details which are not less important. My dear Aristias, continued he, fmiling, rigid as my morality is, yet have I given you some little offence. In our last conversation, you intimated your furprize at my filence as to the love of one's country; now the reasons of my filence are these, and I submit them to your judgment: I thought it most proper to speak to you of the virtues in the fame order as politics should place them, to make the practice of them more eafy and familiar. There is not, and there cannot be, any love for one's country without temperance, love of labour, love of glory, or respect for the gods. In a state where those virtues are wanting, the citizen, wrapped up in his own concerns, looks upon himself as a stranger in the midst of his country-men. Whereas in a republic, where these virtues are carefully cultivated, the love of one's country will fpring up fpontaneously, and produce K 2 abun-

abundant fruit without any affistance. Thus you see, my dear Aristias, that it ought not to be classed with those virtues which I have called "mothers or auxiliaries."

Aristias's astonishment at these words, my dear Cleophanes, is not to be defcribed. Though overcome by the wifdom of Phocion, he could not help interrupting him. How, Phocion, faid he, with fome warmth, can there be a virtue which is on a level with the love of one's country? Why, it is the very foul of all a patriot's virtues, it often supplies the want of them all; it will at any time produce temperance; it will bravely fupport any hardships; it will face all dangers. Those very Barbarians whom we look upon as the dregs of mankind, would we forbear having a value for them did they love their country, did they live for its happiness, and readily die for its glory? Is it not because we grow daily more indifferent to our country, that we now fear neighbours who once stood in awe of

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us, and feem coming under the Macedonian yoke?

This warmth charms me, cried Phocion, embracing Aristias; and oh that the guardian deities of Greece would bring all the Greeks into your way of thinking! Ah! my respectable master, ah! divine Phocion, replied Ariftias, whose furprise was still increasing, why will you yourself perplex me thus? Why fuch a wish if I am in an error? Because then, answered Phocion, our countrymen would at least have one virtue; they then would begin to blush for their vices, their foul would have still some energy, some principle of action, and our case would not be absolutely desperate. No, Ariftias, the love of one's country, if it be not grafted on other virtues, will not work the wonders which you imagine. If it happens to kindle in the breast of sluggish citizens given up to pleasures, and indifferent about glory, it will prove only a transitory freak, without any stress to be laid on it, from which the

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the most judicious politics cannot derive a lasting advantage. This plant, as it were springing up in a foreign land, and that not at all prepared to receive and nourish it, would die at its first appearance. Love is not to be commanded: if you would have the citizen love his country, his soul must be opened to this virtue, by the practice of that which I spoke of yesterday to you.

I allow it, replied Aristias, with some emotion; but at least, Phocion, you will, I hope, place the love of one's country amidst those sublime virtues, from which slow all the happiness of society. Allow it, together with justice, prudence, and courage, to be the goal to which politics is to conduct us by temperance, love of labour, love of glory, and the fear of the gods. To gratify you would be deceiving you, replied Phocion, jocularly; and it is not for me to assign the virtues their several ranks and places, as a master among his slaves.

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By the nature of things, continued Phocion, there are fome virtues which need only confult themselves to act, and the superior virtue is to direct that which in the nature of things is under its controul. To explain myself more fully, morality, for instance, enjoins us to be frugal, generous, compassionate; but these qualities would become vices, unless governed by a superior virtue, namely justice. My frugality will be criminal, if I fail in what justice requires of me with regard to my relations and fellow citizens. I am culpable in my generofity, should I squander away that fortune among my intimates, with which I should in justice pay my creditors. I am to pity the unhappy, even the guilty; but without fo much weakness, as to facrifice the laws of the republic to their fufferings. I am forry for it on your account, my dear Aristias; but the love of one's country is on the fame footing as œconomy, generofity, &c. Subjected, like thefe valuable qualities, to a superior virtue, it K 4 ought.

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ought like them to obey it; else its mistakes, far from being of service to the republic, will hasten its declension.

That virtue which is superior to the love of one's (2) country, is the love of Extend your view, my dear Aristias, beyond the walls of Athens. there any thing more opposite to this happiness of society, the principle of which we are feeking after, than these hatreds, these jealousies, these competitions which fet nations at variance? Has nature made men to flea and devour one another. If she enjoins us mutual love, how wife would politics be in defiring that the love of one's country should prompt citizens to place the happiness of their republic in the misery of their neighbours? Away with frontiers and limits which separate Attica from Greece, and Greece from the provinces of the Barbarians. And now my reason becomes enlarged, my mind foars, and my whole being exults in additional grandeur and improvement. If it

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be pleasant for me to see that my fellowcitizens have my safety at heart, how much more to think, that the whole world is to interest itself in my happiness?

How could it be, that men, who gave up their independence and formed focieties, because they perceived their need of one another, did not perceive that focieties are under an equal necessity of assisting, succouring, and loving each other, and did not immediately infer that it behoved them mutually to observe among themfelves union and benevolence, as the inhabitants of a town? How flow is reason in availing itself of experience, and shaking off the yoke of custom, prejudice and paffion! Our first republics are very excusable in not having for a long time known any other law than that of force. I shall not, Aristias, amuse you with an account of the manners of those ferocious Greeks, eager after pillage, and whose commanders were received as gods in their respective colonies, when they returned home

home laden with booty, and followed by flaves brought away from the neighbour-They certainly loved ing territories. their country. They meant, no doubt, to render it opulent and flourishing at home, and dreaded abroad. But what good did all this blind love of their country do them? It only implanted a more favage bravery into men who had not any of the virtues which adorn a reasonable being. It stimulated them to unjust and violent enterprifes. Thefe cruel triumphs in which the conqueror was fo stupid as to glory were fo many mementos for the hatred and vengeance of his neighbours, and intimations of future calamities. The amiable name of peace indeed was for a long while never known in Greece, all parts swarmed with enraged fugitives, who, driven from their homes, returned thither to massacre the conquerors; every day faw fome hamlet of our fathers destroyed by a fresh revolution.

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If they at length opened their eyes, it was owing to their being wearied out and exhausted. Even in our republics, being ever uncertain of reaping in their fields the grain which the citizens had cultivated there, and ever in danger of being subdued and enflaved, they began to apprehend fears, jealousies, and barbarity might not in reality be fo advantageous to them as they had imagined; and to perceive that there is no state but has need of the friendship of its neighbours. This apprehension put us on making treaties and alliances. Greece now learned to make a difference between a neighbour and an enemy; it instituted a police, fuspicions and hatreds subfided, and the duties which nature prescribes to focieties, were taken into confideration. The plan of nations was no longer unknown; fome of its precepts were difcovered, and the love of one's country, being now directed by principles and connected with virtues, began to produce some good.

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Amphyction brought feveral of our towns to join in a league, yet was that union but a very imperfect sketch of the happiness of the Greeks. Lycurgus, whose wisdom and abilities can never be sufficiently admired, was the man who first understood how much it concerns a state that would fecure itself from the insults of its neighbours, to make the laws of that eternal union which nature has established between all mankind, the constant rule of their deportment towards them. He would have the love of one's country, which till then had been in Lacedemon unjust, fierce, and ambitious, to be refined by the love of mankind. His beneficent republic, now no longer making any use of its forces, but to protect weakness, and maintain the rights of justice, soon gained the esteem, friendship, and respect of all Greece, to which these sentiments gave a new taste for virtue.

The enemies of Sparta, instead of their hereditary hatred, courted its alliance.

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Its allies, with a gratitude void of all fear, and even fuspicion, became the supports and guardians of its repose and fafety. The Spartans, in their own happiness, procured that of all the Grecian states. Corinthians, Thebans, Achæans, Athenians, &c. all of us used to confider only that little spot where we first drew breath to be our country; but when united in a general goodwill, Greece became our common country; and our cities, which amidst their divisions had been diffurbed with continual apprehensions under a sense of their weakness, formed fuch a flourishing and mighty republic, that it proved a match for all the forces of Afia.

Why, my dear Aristias, should we think ourselves foreigners, when without the walls of our cities? Why these jealousies, these animosities, these cruel wars? Has sparing nature bestowed on mankind such a scanty portion of happiness, that it must be acquired sword in hand? Knowlege of our real interest would make us all happy.

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If it be wife in an individual, continued Phocion, to conciliate to himself the esteem and friendship of his countrymen, is it not still more necessary for a state to inspire its neighbours with the like fentiments? The individual, strictly speaking, may do without friends, and need not fear any enemies, being under the protection of the laws, and the magistrate is always at hand to interpose in his behalf. Is it fo with a republic? Do not the many irregularities, wrongs and violences, which the passions occasion daily among different states, prove the law of nations to be but a flender fafeguard to each particular fociety? History is full of nothing but revolutions, equally fudden and capricious. The wifest and best governed people are not without their intervals of remissiness, weakness, diffention and error; a place too contemptible to be an object of fear may happen to produce an Epaminondas, collect new spirits, and make itself formidable: in a word, polity can never foresee

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all the turns of fortune, nor all the latent dangers impending over a state. How powerful soever it be, ought not the idea of the rocks with which it is surrounded alarm it, and teach it, that it cannot enjoy a constant prosperity, nor even sub-sist any time without endeavouring by justice, moderation, and generosity, to secure faithful and zealous allies.

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You would willingly, Ariftias, procure for your friend the good-will of the whole world; if he be wanting in any virtue, you wish it were in your power to give it him. How then should you believe, that a citizen loves his country, when he flatters and foments its views, and is for rendering it troublesome, suspected, and odious to its neighbours? If your friend consulted you about the means of becoming popular in Athens, and procuring a majority of votes at elections, would you advise him openly to throw aside all probity, to forget his engagements, never to abate an inch of his right, to be abrupt and

and haughty, to circumvent all whom he has any business with? Why then do our profound politicians advise the republic to such a conduct towards foreigners, which you would blame in your friend? Are friends gotten by ill treatment and injuries? Do not republics in the same manner, see, seel, and judge like individuals?

Undoubtedly, Phocion, faid Ariftias to him, it would be blasphemy to think that the gods have made human reason thus contradictory to itself, advising as policy what it forbids as morality. A wrong love of one's country has to be fure ruined many states, by overlooking the comprehensive love of mankind. However, continued he, with plain figns of his fear of being mistaken, should I be an enemy to my country, if, having to do with ambitious, turbulent and faithless neighbours, I advised it to make a defensive use of the fame weapons with which it is attacked? Moderation, justice, and beneficence, will be the dupes of ambition and fraud. Befides

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fides, if born in a republic of small extent, and which can arm but sew hands for its desence, would it not be imprudent to keep it thus weak and contemptible, whilst its neighbours are continually striving after new acquisitions? It ought to guard against such an accumulation of power; and in my opinion it is only by aggrandizing itself, that my country can prevent the dangers which I manifestly foresee from its situation.

No, my dear Aristias, replied Phocion with some warmth, if my enemy attacks me with unfair weapons that shall not make me throw aside mine. When, after the Median war our orators thought of continuing the command of the armies to Lacedemon, it was betraying the honour and fortune of Athens; and that, since the sea being covered with our ships, it behoved us to compel our allies to be our slaves; let us suppose that the Spartans, instead of using, after our example, craft and force, had only employed for preserving

the lead in Greece the same virtues by which they had formerly gained it; think you, my dear Aristias, that such policy had been less advantageous to them than ours which they adopted. Had not the duplicity of Sparta began to be perceived, and of consequence its ambition to be dreaded, it would have eafily reduced us, by feducing from us even our allies whom we were provoking by our imperious demeanor. It was because this republic had laid afide its own weapons to defend itself with ours, that the Greeks, fluctuating in the want of a fettled principle, at one time espoused its interests, and at another embarked in our defence. Hence arose a series of carnages and fruitless successes for near thirty years. To charge fuch diffrace on a blind and capricious fortune is frivolous; the whole blame lay in our vices. Lacedemon at length triumphed, but it was not by any fuperiority of its government over ours; weak as we were, the advantage would have been

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been on our fide with a like concurrence of favourable circumstances on so many occasions.

After having humbled us, it met with a fimilar deftiny, and what was the cause of it? The same iniquitous and fraudulent scheme of policy which had made the enflaving us fo hard a task to them. Had the Spartans refumed their ancient virtue, quickly would they have stifled the spirit of discord and ambition which our quarrels had raised, and easily recovered their former ascendency. Whereas opposing fraud to fraud, injustice to injustice, force to force, they multiplied their enemies, and had no longer any rule or principle for their conduct. If ambition and injustice could hide themselves under the veil of virtue, and conceal their machinations from me, I should then fear them; but this the Gods do not suffer: those vices always betray themselves, and on our being aware of them, all their art is baffled. If my enemy be weak, what have I to fear? If powerful, am I to lay afide L 2

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afide moderation, and thus indifcretely to furnish him with a pretence for subduing me? What have I to fear from this wily policy, the whole view of which is to deceive, if I have the prudence to wait patiently till it has exhausted its artifices and frauds, and thus reduce it to give me certain tokens of its good faith, previously to any negotiation with it?

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On your neighbour's acquiring a town or province, do you acquire a new virtue, and you will prove more powerful than he. What would it fignify to us, if Philip had not conquered either Illyria or Peonia, were we not corrupted? Would he be less to be dreaded by us, though he had not enlarged the frontiers of Macedonia? Why, my dear Aristias, should we be alarmed at the aggrandisement of one of our neighbours? If he reduced a people so mean spirited as not vigorously to defend their independence, what will he be the better for this notable conquest? Will cowards serve their new master with

more courage than they shewed to preferve their liberty? He will subdue, say you, a valiant nation: but the more trouble he has in conquering it, the more will he mistrust its obedience and fidelity. Or, to rid himself of any fear from these refractory malecontents, he will be obliged to keep them low, to dispirit, to cow them: thus, in a word, deprive himself of those forces which he had hoped would prove a valuable addition to his native troops. Cyrus, it is faid, tired out with the frequent revolts of the Lydians, ordered them to wear cloaks and buskins; then, he introduced public shews and feastings, and foftened them by habitual dislipation and voluptuousness. Most sublime politics truly. Ah! heavens, what business had Cyrus with the Lydians? Why purchase by war, ever attended with a vast expence of blood and treasure, subjects always useless and often dangerous; whilst without any trouble, without any uneafiness, without any violence, probity, justice and benefi-

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cence will procure you allies and friends always ready to facrifice themselves in your behalf.

Let the falutary policy of Lycurgus ferve us for a model. Do we love our country; then let us procure it steady allies, and not intractable subjects. I think, my dear Aristias, I told you some days ago, that the order which the author of nature has established in human affairs, will never admit that fraud, injustice and violence, the attendants on which are either enemies or stupid flaves, should be a folid foundation to the power of a state. Recollect what we have faid. Instance to me a people that has not weakened, and at length ruined itself by its conquests. Where is the nation whom the spoils and abasement of the conquered have not corrupted? Babylonians, Affyrians, Medes, and Perfians, were fuccessively vanquished by one another; and what has been the refult of fo much ambition, fo many wars, enterprifes and victories? A monarchy, the mistress

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of Asia, which, with millions of soldiers, could not reduce either Athens or Lacedemon, two small cities all whose strength consisted only in virtue.

These great powers, which in becoming formidable, raifed our jealoufy, are destined to fink under their own weight; the vigilance and fagacity of men being too limited, their passions too strong, and their virtues too weak, for a great province to be governed wifely (3). The more extensive the machine of government is, the less expeditious, exact and regular, will its motions be. It is much more difficult in a large empire to repress the passions pregnant with rebellion or which debase the foul, its magistrates being exposed to temptations too strong or too frequent for human frailty. I think that in our Grecians towns, I could discharge every fingle duty of a first magistrate; but I am likewise perfuaded, that were I at the head of a fatrapy or large province of Persia, I could only wish to do good, without being able to do

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any. All the springs of government must in a large state be out of order; all its laws are necessarily despised or neglected: whilst a small republic may be collectively, and, in every part, sinew, force, and activity. A large empire seems to labour under a palsey; and this is the reason why a handful of Persians formerly conquered Asia from the Medes: to this may be imputed Xerxes's disgrace, and that our fathers have made his successors tremble in their very capital.

Dear Aristias, continued Phocion, I have endeavoured to reduce to fixed and certain principles, this science called politics, of which the Sophists had given us but a very false idea. They look upon it as the slave or tool of our passions; hence the uncertainty and instability of its maxims; hence arise its errors, and revolutions which are the fruits of them. For my part, I hold policy to be the minister of our reason, and as such see the happiness of societies as a direct emanation from it.

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I should have nothing to add to the general pinciples which I have unravelled to you, were all men capable of knowing and loving truth. But this is a hope which common fense will not allow us to indulge. Wherever we cast our eyes, we daily fee, and shall for ever fee, errors and vices. It is not the happiness to which nature destines us, that men are willing to know; they would gladly be taught to become happy according to their own taste and prejudices. Reason, having, from the beginning of things, not been able to make good its superiority over the passions, we may conclude, Ariftias, that it will not be more happy hereafter; and that jealoufy, hatred, and ambition, which have already destroyed fo many nations, republics and empires, will go on in their devastations.

Thus, amidst this spirit of rapine with which the earth is infected, and which nothing can extirpate; amidst dangers with which all people are threatened,

it is not sufficient for a republic to have nothing to fear from its own passions. It must have an eye to those of foreigners, and be in a condition to curb and restrain them. The justice, good faith, moderation and beneficence, which the love of mankind inspires, have a tendency, as you have feen, to conciliate the esteem and affection of foreigners, and confequently are a rampart against their passions. But this rampart, Aristias, is not an impregnable fafeguard against wickedness. The inebriated passions may bewilder themselves fo far as to despise and hate the virtues: therefore check them by fear; that is, be it a standing maxim in your politics, that the best way to cultivate peace is to be always ready to make war with fuccefs.

A temperate people, who love labour and glory, and who fear the Gods, will, I know, necessarily be courageous in battle, bear fatigues, and not faint under a reverse of fortune. They will on every occasion readily put on the virtue which will pr lic ke ha zer to fig fuc

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be most useful to them. Their forces will undoubtedly all unite in danger, and one and the same impulse actuate every arm. But mind, Aristias, that borrowed qualities, if I may fo fpeak, fuch which we are not familiarized to by daily practice, have little influence. If a republic, even in a profound peace, does not keep up a shew of war; if minds are not habituated to the idea of dangers; if citizens are not prepared by their education to be foldiers, it is to be feared that the fight of danger will shock and intimidate fuch raw warriors. Fear is one of the most natural passions in the human heart, and at the same time one of the most dangerous: by all means harden the foul against it; for when once fear benumbs the fenses, and confounds reason, the case is irretrievable.

Be our republic therefore military, be every citizen, destined for the defence of his country, exercised every day in the use of his weapons, and in the city habituated to the discipline necessary in a camp.

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By fuch politics you will not only form invincible foldiers, but you will farther give a new force to the laws (4) and civil virtues.

You will hinder the pleasures and occupations of peace from softening and insensibly corrupting the manners; for if the civil virtues, such as temperance, love of labour and glory, prepare for military virtues, the latter support and strengthen the former.

Since our government has so far favoured sloth and cowardice, as to allow the civil employments to be separated from the military, we have neither citizens nor soldiers. Men, who believed that they had no longer any need of courage, soon gave themselves up to pleasures and cabals. Their minds became void of strength and elevation; yet have they a vote in the senate, and in the general assembly. Hence arose all those decrees which will cover us with eternal ignominy; and such a softness in the national spirit, irreconcilable with a return to virtue. Our

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armies were only composed of the dregs of the republic. Our foldiers fat themfelves to compare their lot with that of the rich, the inactive, and the voluptuous citizens; living at home they hated the military profession; war appeared to them the meanest of trades, and they bear a part in it only in hopes of pillage, and of enjoying one day the fruits of their rapine. How should it be possible to form fuch a militia to that regular and ftrict discipline without which even courage itself would be of no use? How will you inspire these fordid and mercenary foldiers with the fentiments of generofity becoming or rather necessary to defenders of their country?

How infatuated are our rich citizens to trust the defence of the republic to any but themselves, and not foresee, that they expose themselves, to lose this liberty, these riches, this ease, these pleasures, which they have so much at heart. Our abasement daily increases with our corruption:

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either we shall at length be overcome by our enemies, or we shall destroy ourselves with our own hands. We must not flatter ourselves with any stable and cordial agreement between the rich who grudge their contributions to the charges of the war, and the poor who carry it on no less unwillingly at the expence of their blood. They already in their hearts despife each other; and on the first declared rupture between them, their hatred will be irreconcilable. If the latter get the upper hand, they will oppress their country, and fet up a tyrant as a protector to avenge and enrich them. If the former, by a chance scarce supposable, acquire the fovereignty without divisions among themselves, they will tremble amidst their power; and in order to free themselves from the anxiety of fear, they will chuse to have only a mercenary foldiery, which, however formidable to indolent citizens, will be found but a weak rampart to the republic (5) against brave and disciplined enemies.

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We are often told of Carthage; that its citizens mind only commerce and wealth, and that hired foldiers have acquired, and do still preferve the empire of Africa. But I am not fatisfied with this example. Were such a republic, dear Aristias, to entertain me with an oftentatious show of its riches, power, armies, and navy, as Cræfus shewed his treasures to Solon, by way of proof, that he was the happiest man in the world, my answer to the Carthaginians should be, I have seen a little republic which has few or no ships, delights in its poverty, is without subjects, where every citizen is a foldier, and I believe its happiness better secured than yours. Should they be offended at my freedom, why, would I fay to them, would you have me value a prosperity which a thousand accidents must disturb, and which depends only on circumstances, which cannot be permanent? Solon would not give his judgment on Cræsus's happiness till that potent monarch was dead: fo I, instead of being

being dazzled by the glare of Carthaginian power, I will defer giving my opinion of their fafety and prosperity, till they shew me how they would quell any attempts of their own armies, should they have courage enough to mutiny and revolt (6). I will fuspend my judgment till they have to deal with a brave and disciplined corps. If, like Cræsus, they meet with a Cyrus, or become the flaves of one of their own generals, you will allow, Aristias, that those politicians who now admire the wisdom and prosperity of the Carthaginians, must recant and talk at another

If that republic has acquired large provinces, the vanquished very probably were less brave and less disciplined even than its mercenaries. If it bear rule over its neighbours, no doubt it began its advantages by communicating its vices to them. Among nations equally vicious, I am not at all furprised, that he who can buy foldiers has the superiority. But Brigg

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by no means, Aristias, infer fromhence, that this is acting wifely; fuch a state is undone, should one of its neighbours reform but one of its faults. Wretched is that republic which owes its fuccesses, and very existence, to the weakness and corruption of its neighbours and enemies! This defect of Carthage has been that of almost every state. Instead of attending only to the effential wants of fociety, and establishing what will render it happy in all circumstances and at all times, imprudent policy suffers itself to be misled by transitory successes. It has scarce ever laid down to itself any other than false rules, and hence these revolutions of which fo many nations have been the victims. Yes, Aristias, I take on me to foretel the downfal of the Carthaginians; I plainly fee it: for there will be on earth fome people eager to make war on opulent nations, and riches, as corrupting the manners, have in all ages, down to our days, fallen M

fallen into the hands of courage and discipline. The world guilds at all the

How far are we, cried Aristias, from the true principles of policy! The history of Greece, and what we are told of the revolutions that have happened in the mighty Afiatic states, evince, Phocion, the truth of your doctrine, and the unhappiness of our present situation. Being used to hear our politicians continually declaim, that money (7) is the finew of war, I am, I own, at some loss to comprehend that it can be carried on without occasioning great expence. Be fo kind, I intreat you, added he, as to dispel all my doubts; shew me wherein I deceive myfelf in thinking that it is our poverty which puts us under an incapacity of having a fleet and paying an army. High has odd to Islawob out

My dear Aristias, answered Phocion, these fine maxims invented by avarice, and now so common in Athenians, you would not have heard in the time when our

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our fathers defeated the Persians at Marathon and Salamis. For looking upon temperance, the love of glory and labour, courage and discipline, as the sinews of war and peace, they despised money; and it was indeed of no use to them. They were poor, yet provided a numerous sleet to sight Xerxes, and built it of the very timber of their houses; they did not pay their soldiers as being citizens, and they had a numerous army of heroes.

No, Aristias, it is not our poverty which hinders us, at this day, from having a fleet and army. On the contrary, let the blame fall only on our wealth, the increase of which has infected a part of the citizens with a griping, sordid parsimony which dares not enjoy it, while the other part it seduces to voluptuousness; and never will they sacrifice their luxury and delights to the republic's wants. The resources of virtue are infinite; the more we employ them, the more are they multiplied. How immense soever riches are, they will be exhausted.

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The love of glory works wonders, because it rouses great souls; the love of money can produce nothing but what is low, as acting only on low minds. If money be fo very powerful as the Athenians fay, why do not we buy a Miltiades, an Ariftides, a Themistocles; why do we not procure magistrates, citizens, and heroes?

When, under Pericles's administration, Athens had enriched itself with the spoils of the vanquished and the tributes levied from our allies, there was a period in which the republic appeared to have acquired a new degree of power and strength, Our new wealth not having yet had the time to destroy our old manners, we generously employed it to build ships, and buy the friendship of some people who were beginning to fell it, and we appeared the arbiters of Greece. Our magistrates, deceived by this appearance of prosperity, thought undoubtedly, that the same virtues which dignified our poverty, and which our poverty alone supported, would be

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the stewards and dispensers of our opulence. This led them to conceive, that the republic could never be too rich; a grofs error indeed! Gold and filver, by rendering us covetous, foon extinguished the fentiments of honour and generofity: a consequential delight in luxury plunged us in every vice. Money then became the finews both of war and peace, because the Athenians sold to their country those services which it formerly received without pay. And then what were we the better for our dangerous opulence? The more we acquired of it, the more our manners became depraved. Amidst all our accumulations we were needy; our avarice exceeded our fortune. Being more impoverished by our wants, than enriched by our rapines and oppressions, the republic was poor, and felt all the inconveniences of poverty, because its citizens had all the vices accompanying riches.

Make those senseless politicians blush for their absurdity, who, to give some vigor

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to the expiring republic (8), would draw to it all the gold and filver of the whole world. Blind creatures, they are for fatisfying, by means of money, what are insatiable passions! Our fathers were rich with ten talents, we are poor with two thousand; give us two thousand more, and we shall think ourselves still poorer than we are now. We are already fo far gone as to mistake the luxury and pride of riches for the prosperity of the republic. The ease of their domestic fortune, the quiet enjoyment of their pleasures, these are now the futile objects which politics, under its present impotency, is obliged to look on as the real concerns of the state. If our corruption increases with our wealth, our calamities will become still more onerous. Nature, my dear Aristias, has not made man for the possession of wealth. The difference of rich and poor is not of its appointment? Are we not all born with the same necessities? Nature diffuses her benefits with a liberal œconomy,

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economy, let us use them with the same prudence. The law, in permitting the accumulation of great fortunes in a republic, condemns multitudes of wretches to pine in indigence; fo that the whole state is become a den of tyrants and flaves, jealous of and enemies to one another. To go about reviving those virtues, which constitute the happiness and strength of society, is mere folly. Yet is this what our politicians, fo greedy after gold and filver, endeavour; they fow the feeds of avarice, voluptuousness, effeminacy, injustice, fraud, hatred, and they expect to fee justice, temperance, courage, generofity, and concord fpring from them.

You have heen told, Aristias, and it is incessantly repeated to you in Athens, that money is necessary in a long war, or to carry it to any considerable distance: and this is what farther proves how dangerous wealth is. Why should men desire that they may be able to extend and perpetuate the most dreadful scourge of human named M 4

of our republic were short. We are grown rich, and now our wars have been so long as to kindle perpetual hatreds, and break all the bonds of that alliance which caused our security at home and abroad. If Lycurgus was right in saying to the Spartans, "Would ye always be free and respectively, then continue poor, and never attempt to make conquests;" I would ask you, where is the use of foreign expeditions? Of what benefit can they be?

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Our allies, you will tell me, may be oppressed, and we must sly to their assistance. We must undoubtedly sulfil our engagements. Let your manners and wants be simple, and the earth will every where afford you abundant subsistence. What treasures had the Scythians, when they quitted their forests to conquer Assyria? A bow, arrows, javelins and courage, these made all their possessions. Raise your courage and discipline into esteem, and the allies whose defence you undertake, will let you want for nothing.

But at least, says Aristias, though the citizens continue temperate and laborious, love glory, and rest pleased with poverty, might not the republic have a treafury, to be opened only on a preffing exigency? No, my dear Ariftias, replied Phocion; and if you are wife, you will not expose the virtue of your citizens to this temptation. Why keep you fuch a Pandora's box? Let us not deceive ourselves, and blend in theory things incompatible in practice. Join with me in exploding these public treasures. To think of forming one in a state whose manners are depraved, is a chimera. How fevere foever the laws for fecuring this deposite may be, avarice will find a way to rifle it with impunity. In a virtuous republic, sensible magistrates will never apprehend but that its virtue will be a fure preservative, without any adventitious expedient. A scheme for a public treasury, is a fign that their virtue is on the decay; and their imprudence, instead of consolidating the state,

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state, saps its foundations. Depend on it the citizens will never be satisfied with their poverty, whilst the state is amassing riches. Aristias, take it for a general rule, as politics busies itself more or less about treasures, money and riches, the commonwealth is more or less happy, is more or less remote from the instant of its destruction.

box? Let us not deceive ourfelves, and blend in theory things incompatible in practice. John with me in exploding thefe public ricaliness To think of forming one in a fate whole manners are depraved cis a clamerall How fevere feever the laws for fecuring this deposite may be, availeewill find a way to rifle it with immaken in a virtuous republic, feighble vagificates will never apprehend but that its virtue will be a flire prefervative; with--N. O. D. noventitique expodient: A fcheme for a public acaliny, is a figh that their virue is on the decay ; and their imprudence, soilead of confolidating the istaffothing.

would have thought very good, perhaps,

CONVERSATION V.

Of the means which policy should make use of in reforming a commonwealth whose manners are corrupted. Of the use which may be made of the passions. Different distempers of states.

OW happy the moments we have passed in Phocion's house! On our return from our walk along the banks of the Cephifus, fo celebrated by our poets, we took a frugal repast intermixed with fprightly chat. The banquets of the great king, my dear Cleophanes, do not come up to a dish of vegetables of Phocion's wife's plain cooking. He exercised his jocularity on the luxury of his table, which he compared to the Spartan black potage. When Ariftias, fays he, shall be a little more familiar with philosophy, I will give a downright Lacedemonian treat. As for to-day, I must spare him; what Lycurgus would never

would not go down with him. After Phocion had made a kind of libation to the tutelary gods of Athens, and his own lares, we went into his garden. I see your impatience, says he to Aristias, let us sit down a while in the shade of this sig-tree, before we go back for Athens; and since you are so disposed, we will return to our morality and politics.

My dear Aristias, continued he, at first, you was only for knowing the remedies applicable to the present evils of our republic, and being informed of the resources which our peculiar situation still offers for our deliverance; and yet I have been so hard-hearted as to talk to you merely about the fundamental principles of politics. Think not that I meant to make an oftentatious display of philosophy. If I am not mistaken, you easily perceive, that without the help of these primary truths, which ought to be a state's-man's immutable rule in all his proceedings, I never

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never could have faid any thing with which your reason had been satisfied. I should have bewildered myfelf and you too in following me. We should only have corrected one folly by another; we should have laboured in fearch of refources and expedients; and true policy is to have no need of them. I should have proposed to you fome random palliatives, which are often difeless, and might even inflame the diftemper which we were for allaying.

If I have fucceeded in convincing you of this great truth, that providence has established such a connexion between morality and politics, that the happinels of states depends on the practice of virtue, and that it is always some vice which begins their ruin, it will be easy for you hereafter to avoid the faults which feveral great men have committed You have a test for trying the goodness of your operations. You will be careful not to imitate Themistocles, who, in order to render Athens mistress virtue

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of Greece and the fea, proposed burning the fleet of the Greeks whilst wintering in the harbour of Pegafes. Aristides declared that nothing could be more advantageous to the Athenians than this project, but at the same time that nothing was more unjust and You, Aristias, will bat present excel the wildom even of the just Aristides himself; and allowing of no distinction between advantageous and just, hurtful and unjust, you will declare that nothing could be more pernicious to the Athenians than Themistocles's iniquitous project. This, for a transitory advantage, I was rendering us for ever odious to all Greece. Who would have placed any confidence in us after such a perfidy? Who would not have detested our offer of alliance, and despised our oaths? The Greeks would have joined in our destruction, and rather than fail of revenge, they would have implored the affiftance of Persia itself.

has a tendency to make them love fome virtue,

virtue, or to detach them from some vice; support such act to the utmost of your power, and you will certainly do great good to your country. You cannot but blame Agefilaus, who feeing that a great number of citizens had run away at the battle of Leuctra, and that the republic was in want of soldiers, would have had the law which branded cowards with infamy overlooked. What could he expect from an army of runaways? As cowardice had been the fole occasion of the evil. it behoved them more than ever to keep up to the strictness of the ancient laws, which till then had rendered the Spartans invincible. Shewing clemency to the runawayswas making the defeat of Leuctra still worse, and preparing new diffraces for Lacedæmon.

From the preceding reflections, which have hitherto engaged us, you may, dear Aristias, without any trouble, lay down a rule for yourself to judge of the importance of laws. Those which are the properest for moderating our passions, and regulating the public manners, are also the

most necessary, and should be the most sacred; at no time, in no circumstances, under no pretence, were they to be neglected. I should be much more assaid at seeing women take up new dresses, and affect new graces, than at a commotion in the public assembly, or at the ambition of a magistrate, who sets himself up above his collegues. Whilst the moral laws are in force, all the others are secure; but their declension necessarily draws on the ruin of government.

Though every vice be as pernicious as every virtue is useful, we must not, in conducting the reformation of a corrupted republic, give up ourselves to the impulses of a blind zeal. Our proceedings are to be temperate and methodical: as there are fruitful virtues mutually helpful to each other, and which politics ought principally to cultivate in a common-wealth where they still subsist, so are there fruitful vices, which serve, as it were, for a matrix and sewel to corruption;

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tion; and the expulsion of these should be policy's first object in a corrupt refaces for it, act with the prudencialdud

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At the head of them is this vice, to which I know not a name, a two-bodied monster, compounded of avarice and prodigality, ever acquiring, and never diffipating; and of which the wants are ever shooting up with insatiable avidity, never flick at any injustice. If it be yet weak, fo that its eruptions observe some decorum, collect all your ftrength, and attack it vigoroully, drive it to its last intrenchments, utterly extirpate it, or you have done nothing. What a mistake is it in some republics to profcribe public luxury, and tolerate it amidst domestic private families; to recommend plainness of manners, by fumptuary laws, and corrupt them by the pomp of public festivals!

Should the flagrancy of this vice, after having corrupted the whole body of the citizens, grow to have as much impudence as fway, to attack it in front will only My

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be irritating it, and playing a fresh victory into its hands. Use stratagems, lay fnares for it, act with the prudence of a general, who, when he cannot fafely give battle to an army manifestly the superior, watches it narrowly, distresses it in its operations, cuts off its provisions, and, in a word, endeavours to harrass and ruin it, without hazarding any open attempt. This monstrous vice of which I am speaking, is big with a thousand others, all so many allies, auxiliaries, and guards concerned for its support and increase. Against these point your chief efforts, let no favourable circumstance slip you: fometimes inveigh against effeminacy and profuseness, and fometimes speak with contempt of luxury; and thus perhaps you will one day be able to introduce regulations which limiting industry and avarice, will put an end to that enormous disproportion in the fortune of citizens which corrupts them all alike, though by different vices.

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My dear Aristias, only follow, in the cultivation of the virtues, the order which I have pointed out to you, and you will see the vices most pernicious to society even wear away; for to prodigal avarice nothing is more contrary than temperance. The love of labour is incompatible with sloth and the love of glory; and the fear of the gods will root out that mean and sordid instinct, which hinders every vicious citizen from seeking his own happiness in that of the public.

But, it must be owned, there are seasons, when prudence itself requires us to depart from this method; and in such junctures, it is the virtue from which a people is the least averse, and not that which of itself is the most important or most advantageous to society, that policy ought to encourage. For instance, Aristias, we have at this day a law which applies to theatrical representations the funds formerly destined for war; and it is forbidden, under pain of death, to move

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for its repeal. There are no praises given at Athens but only to decorators of the theatre, to players and pipers; the diffipated and giddy of the other fex have communicated their idleness and frivolity to our young men: our magistrates and their courtesans drive a public trade with the power of magistracy; they see with an indifferent eye, and perhaps with joy, the calamities of their country, as turning them to their advantage; the commonalty being envious and grown listless by inactivity, instead of the honest earnings of industry, set up to live only by the largeffes which the state lavishes on them; an honest sensible magistrate they account a tyrant; and as they reckon themselves free only so far as they can do every thing without being called to account, you fee them at elections caballing against merit, in favour of pusillanimity, it not being in the nature of this to make itself feared. We are all like that Athenian who gave his vote condemning Ariftides

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tides to the offracism, only because he was tired of hearing him always called the just Aristides. Do you think that in fuch circumstances it is proper to make known to the Athenians the truths which I have laid before you? They among us who lament our courses, and ardently wish the revival of virtue, would be difheartened at the frightful immensity of the space to be passed through; and the bad citizens, at fight of the rectitude proposed to them, would think that to deprive them of their vices, would be taking from them their very happiness.

What I have faid to you, though agreeable to all the fages of antiquity, would make me pais for a (2) fool with fome, and a disturber of the public tranquillity with others; and what hopes, my dear Ariftias, fhould I then have of fucceeding? Every step towards reformation therefore requires extreme circumspection; and this very circumspection seems to be a new chastisement, with which the Author of dient

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nature punishes our vices, and by which he warns us to be on our guard against a corruption so difficult to be remedied.

To destroy prejudices, we must sometimes carry our condescension so far as in appearance to adopt them; and in order to expel one vice, we must fometimes feign to favour another. But I dwell too long on the innocent artifices to which politics must in some cases bring itself; though, thanks to our corruption, we have nothing to fear from immoderate zeal for virtue. Since every virtue is useful, and there is no virtue which does not prepare our heart for the reception of a fecond, patiently make repeated trials of the dispositions of your citizens. On a first success, do not lose the fruit of it, by neglecting to procure a fecond. Endeavour to waken in their hearts some spark of the love of glory; it is the only one of all the virtues which, strengthened by vanity, shews itself in the midst of an extreme corruption. Shall all your efforts miscarry? Still a final expedient

dient remains, which is to make use of the very passions themselves, to undermine and ruin their inordinate sway.

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At these words, my dear Cleophanes, our neophyte could not forbear fmiling as he looked at me. So the passions then, fays he, are sometimes of use? Yes, my dear Ariftias, replied Phocion, as those poisons which physic sometimes converts into medicaments. No matter, answered Aristias; and among all the means for reforming a vicious people, I am apt to think, that to make use of the passions is not the most disagreeable way. I was yesterday, continued he, reading Plato's Republic; he is fo indulgent as to account the pleafures of love a mean (3) which politics ought to employ for inspiring courage, and inciting it to heroic actions. Since it may be the spur and prize of valour, you undoubtedly, Phocion, mean, that directed by an able hand, it may contribute to promote and facilitate the practice of all those virtues which are the most necessary to society.

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Not at all, answered Phocion smiling; and from your precipitancy in guessing at my thoughts, I conclude, my dear Aristias, that you are no longer master of your heart. The authority you cite is respectable indeed, Plato, the disciple, the friend of Socrates, the consident of his thoughts I and how presumptuous were I not to submit to his opinion, had not he himself taught me in his school, that the wifest man always pays some tribute to human nature, and that our reason ought to submit only to truth?

Thee, my dear Aristias, you would have the most beautiful woman to be the recompense of the most valiant, the most just, and most prudent man. But consider what force such a law would add to a passion, already too imperious, too turbulent, and which cannot be too much kept under restraint. Has it not been the first care of all law-givers to prescribe rules for love? And hence among all civilized nations marriage is recommended, and laws provided against

against the violation of its sacredness. Though Plato would have women common in his Republic, yet what a strict decorum and modesty does he impose on this licentiousness? Is not his very aim that the heart, loofened from every particular affection, may be the more closely linked to the state? Our fathers undoubtedly were but short fighted folks not to see the great merit of prostitution! They were very rude and blind, fince, notwithstanding their good morals, they performed pretty notable feats, at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa. What a pity that Themistocles and Paufanias did not cause proclamation to be made at the head of their armies, that instead of the infipid rewards with which valour was honoured among us, the bravest of the Greeks should be allowed to take to himself any Greek damsel he liked best. Let us, by all means, immediately fet about this admirable expedient! Our foldiers fittest for toils, hardships, dangers, and discipline, by notions of gallantry and bus

and debauchery, would eafily bear down Philip's foldiers with all that regularity and virtue which, knowing no better, he is so assiduous to maintain and improve in his camp.

As to our areopagites and fenators, it is evident, that to give them, proportionably to their merit, some right over the pudicity of women, would be an infallible means of bringing them back to that majestic integrity which constitutes the real character of magistrates. That time which they now waste in blandishing and feducing young beauties; would unquestionably be ever after confecrated to the service of the republic, and a wife emulation ____ But to speak seriously, my dear Aristias, is it possible that the effects of voluptuousness, softening the heart, and enervating the mind and body, are so little known to us as to make it the principle of prudence and magnanimity? Are we to be told that the pleafures of sense are to the last degree vague, transient,

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and cloying? In one stage of our life they are not known, in another they would be toilsome; and in the interval of these two stages, love is an intoxication by which reason is almost perpetually disturbed.

It is by the sensative passions that we are debased to the condition of brutes; they therefore can never be prized by intelligent beings, and to make them decent they must be subject to the laws of reason. In youth I excuse deviation, each age unhappily having its infirmities; but instead of applauding itself amidst its many errors, and endeavouring to dignify them, I would have it candidly disapprove of them. Be the freedom of reason preserved; let modesty be mingled even in things immodest; let it blush at the cravings of sense.

I am not ignorant that the hope of voluptuous fruitions has sometimes done great things. I know that the motive of the Scythians for conquering Assyria was

to have fumptuous palaces, delicious liquors, and perfumed women; and I am not furprifed that these brutal passions have stimulated a people, whilst savage, to fuch hazardous attempts. But would the fame hopes have roused to valour a people already foftened by pleasures? Obferve farther, Aristias, that from the moment in which these passions began to enjoy the prize of their victories, the valiant Scythians became foft and cowardly as the people whom they had conquered; and that these passions imparted to them none of the wirtues which constitute the citizen. Granting that the love of vo-Juptuous pleasures made them heroes the enjoyment of these very pleasures made them madmen, who could not preferve their conquests. These were driven out or massacred by their slaves, so that their empire scarce lasted five olympiads.

The transitory good which these passions can produce is too uncertain and too short; the evil consequences of them are too cer-03

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tain and too permanent for true policy ever to make use of them. I shall trouble you only with the example of Cyrus. This prince reigned over a temperate, fober, active and laborious people. The vices which, for a long time, had like a flood over-run Asia seemed to have spared the fmall province, which then bore the name of Persia. Cyrus was not sensible of his happiness. Deceived by an ill judged ambition, or perhaps not knowing, that it is neither extent of dominion or number of provinces which constitute the prince's greatness, and the fecurity of his people, he was for having the imaginary glory of being the founder of a powerful monarchy. He laid before his subjects the riches, the plenty, and the delights of the neighbouring kingdoms, all which were to be the reward of their courage and conquests. They carried every thing before them; but on Cyrus's fubjecting Asia, the recompense so liberally given to the valour of his foldiers, proved the very thing which extinguished

extinguished it. He saw the Persians. lately fo virtuous and burning with a love of glory, become effeminate and fink in fenfuality. " If, faid he then to " them, we mind only heaping up riches, " if we inconfiderably give ourselves up " to voluptuous pleasures, and think that " indolence and idleness are to be the " prize of our welfare, and can make us " happy, quickly shall we lose what we " have acquired." Very wife advice no doubt; but the time was come when Cyrus was going to be punished for his ambition and for the imprudent means he made use of to satisfy it. His subjects corrupted at first by the hopes, and afterwards by the very enjoyment of voluptuous pleasures, were no longer capable of understanding him. All his efforts to recal them to their ancient virtue made no impression; and so far was he from gaining the title of founder of a powerful and flourishing monarchy, which had been the motive of his enterprize, that he had the extinguithed

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mortification to find that he had in reality, been the corrupter of the Persians: and thus the empire which he was leaving to his successors was of a less firm construction than that which he had received from his predecessors.

The paffions which policy can make use of, are those of the soul, as born with us, dying only with us, being never fpent, and to which, in some measure, may be given a tincture of virtue. Such are envy, jealousy, ambition, pride and vanity. These passions are naturally monstrous, warp the foul to injustice, and, left to themselves, run into the most detestable excesses. Yet, in the hands of polity, they fometimes become emulation, love of glory, prudence, firmness and heroism. But these prodigies require citizens not entirely corrupted by avarice, floth, voluptuousness, and the other vices which degrade the foul. My dear Aristias, beware of making use of those passions, till you previously find out the art of inspiring them

affociating them with some virtue, to moderate and direct them; else the ruin of the republic will be hastened by your expedient.

An able physician does not administer the fame medicament to all diftempers. The pilot of a ship spreads or furls his fails, stands out to fea, makes towards the fhore, drops anchor, continually keeps heaving the lead, or crowds fail, according to circumstances; so the statesman always fuits his measures to the divertified fituation in which he finds himfelf. He probes the republic's wounds, and as he rather confiders the malignity of the symptoms in each distemper, than any more or less violent accidents arising from it, he sometimes looks on the republic as irrecoverably loft, when the multitude think all is well, and indulge themselves in the wantonness of security. And and observed

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ous. Parties, cabals and factions in a state, usually frighten the imagination; fo that it is judged to be on the brink of destruction: nothing less is apprehended, than that the citizens are going to cut each other's throats, or that the city will foon fall into the hands of fome foreign enemy. But whilft the citizens are virtuous you may be eafy. If habituated to temperance and industry, they love glory and fear the gods, you may be fure, that they still respect justice; that their passions will not be outrageous; and that the state rests on folid foundations. As they have not abandoned themselves to any gross vices never will they run into extremes. Amidst all the vehemence of rage, they know better than to make a field of battle of their city. If they are at variance, still are they countrymen, and will cordially join to act with vigour against any foreigner who shall dare to attack them; take it for granted that they will even grow tired of their diffentions, and ter-

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minate them in an equitable accommoflare, usually frighten the imaginarioitab

This has been the case of our ancestors who were virtuous, as from instinct, long before any fuch thing as a body of laws for keeping the citizens within the limits of a proper subordination, strengthening the authority of magistrates, and guarding against any abuse of it, was known among them. The inhabitants of the town, the coast, and the hill seemed, every day, to be at daggers-drawing which should have the fupreme power, yet amidst all their combustion not a fingle drop of blood (4) was shed. Our fathers, in time, grew weary of fuch a fituation, and fo generous and moderate were feuds in those times, that every party facrificed its hopes and refentments to the public good. It was agreed to ask Solon to draw up a code of laws, with an unanimous promife to obey them. How eafy was it then to have applied an effectual remedy to all the evils of Athens ! Had our legislator, who canminate

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not be highly extolled for resolution and sagacity, been a Lycurgus, we might have been happy to this very day; and Greece, as we should not have disturbed its peace and union, have enjoyed a constant prosperity, instead of being reduced to its present desolutions.

Though the infidious Pifistratus did find means to bring our fathers under his yoke, it had been wrong to have given the republic over for loft. Manly and auftere morals could not but prove a resource against tyranny. Great as the evil was, there was no remedy too firong for the national spirit of those times. The virtuous courage of the Athenians spurned at fuch flavery. The republic, all its parts being then found, by only one bold push, broke the tyrant's chains, and shone out in greater freedom than ever. Patriotism acquired new strength, and our fathers performed prodigies of valour and magnanimity. soove of bos coons voing doub

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My dear Aristias, I must repeat it again and again, policy judges of natural distempers by the morals, as physic of those of the body by the pulk. Though Pifistratus was not such a tyrant as the gods set over a nation in their anger, that is, though he forbore breaking out into violence and cruelty or exciting hatred; though he artfully concealed the yoke he was laying on us; though his deportment was all courteousness and lenity, and he masked his administration with justice and the public good, he could neither deceive nor weary out the firmness and courage of our republic. Though, on the other hand, the thirty tyrants imposed on us by Lyfander were execrable monsters, though they held nothing facred, though they shed torrents of blood, in a word, though their unparalleled enormities should naturally have made our fathers desperate, and roused them to vigorous opposition, yet all Athens, amidst fuch grievances and provocations, went no farther than tears and despondent lamentations.

tions. This abject tameness, Aristias, was owing to our having then cast off all manners, to Pericles having enervated us by indolence, sloth and diversions, and to the citizens being so taken up with superfluous desires as to have no thoughts left for their country.

Our deliverer was Thrafibulus, and he a proscribed exile; he came and broke our chains: but not making war on our vices, as he did against our tyrants, we were not able to improve the glorious revolution which his courage had effected. What fignified our reassuming the former government, when the springs of it had been relaxed and broken by the profligacy of our manners! Oh, Thrasibulus, how great thy glory, hadst thou, by a second good deed, enabled thy country to improve the first! Thou shouldst have exerted thy force against our vices; have torne us away from our pleafures, then should we have been free indeed, and worthy of being fo!

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The very extremity of evils in a commonwealth, continued Phocion, is for the people to familiarize themselves with shame; for ignominy then sets easy on them, and they look on glory only as a chimera, a nothing. Where from depraved philosophy, the hero and even the plain honest man are publicly fneered at, you may conclude, my dear Aristias, that state to be on its last legs. Though it be not shaken by any violent commotions, not fo much as those vices which suppose something of courage and spirit subsisting any longer, yet this is but a treacherous calm, and much to be dreaded; no longer does truth dwell in the heart, and every mouth is full of lies; not only the actions of the people are directed by a fordid interest, but it is the very foul of their thoughts; you will fee the magistrates laying fnares for one another; you will see the ambitious man forgeing calumnies to blacken his competitor, flicking at nothing to overfet his rivals, but without ftirring

stirring a finger to be better than they. In a word, infected by the meanest vices, the minds are fallen into an abject lethargy, a condition utterly desperate.

These words, my dear Cleophanes, being too just a description of our present state, threw both Aristias and me into a deep consternation : it was as if we had heard fentence of death pronounced against our country. I shuddered under the thoughts of being in an abyss without any outlet, and where neither gods nor men could hear me. Phocion himself, as if terrified by this picture of his own drawing, had made a paule, and after looking up to heaven, cafting his eyes downwards, feemed absorbed in a melancholy pensiveness. A thousand dispiriting ideas crouded on my mind. We are undone, faid I within myself, Oh Athens, Oh my dear country, thou art hastening on thine own ruin! What powerful hand will pull thee back from the edge of the precipice? Minerva, help O Minerva! O fpeedily fave Ariffias

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us! No: it is over with us; the gods are relentless; we have wearied out their patience.

O Phocion, Phocion, cried Ariftias, are we indeed at the eve of the fatal period? Have the gods decreed that Athens shall be no more? Can a city, full of monuments raised to our heroic fathers, and which still is possessed of Phocion, can such a city be condemned either to be but a heap of ruins, or to breed only flaves, tamely groaning under a foreign yoke. Great are our vices; they are enormous; but is not the clemency of the gods infinite? Would they punish us to such a degree as to allow Philip-no, Phocion, no, they will not. Do the vices and errors of the Athenians exceed those which reigned in this breast but a few days ago? And why may not they open their eyes and reflect as I have! O Phocion, you have awakened in my heart the love of virtue, I conjure you by the gods, for our dear country's fake, revive my hopes.

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Ariftias, answered Phocion in a manner which spoke the anguish of his heart, that would be deceiving you; it would be intoxicating you with that blind fecurity already too general among us, and which the gods fend on those republics which they have devoted to final destruction. Should a cruel tyrant arife among us, and oppress us so as to ingross all gold and filver, every pleasure and luxurious gratification! even this loss of our favourite enjoyments would but faintly irritate us; enervate as we now are, our refentment itself would not be able to rouse us from our torpid lethargy. Hope! no, no; no hope remains, unless some patriot, wife and resolute as Lycurgus (5), puts a salutary violence on us, and forcibly wrests us from our vices angest all no maitagrigher

Would, my dear Cleophanes, you had been witness to the sentiments which Phocion's words excited in Aristias! The scintillations of his inflamed eyes gave me pleasure; sometimes he raised them towards heaven,

heaven, and then steadfastly fixed them on Phocion. His thoughts fo confusedly rushed on his mind, that he could vent them only in broken fentences. Would I Oh Lycurgus! ____ I would try ____ I could dare. Our country may still be recovered ____O Phocion, Phocion, added he, eagerly kiffing his hands, pity your finking countrymen, fave them from ruining themselves. Be our Lycurgus. Why may not you, in these times, perform the same miracles in Athens which he formerly performed in Lacedemon? Would that legislator to whom Greece was indebted for fix centuries of prosperity be now honoured as the wifest of men, had he not boldly exerted himself in behalf of justice and good morals, and imposed a reformation on the degenerate Lacedemonians sword in hand. Virtue is not yet totally quenched in every heart; speak the word, what is to be done? Your friend Nicocles you are fure of. I am ready with life and fortune. You will be instantly heavein, ioined joir who

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joined by thirty citizens as hearty as those who backed Lycurgus: all I say makes no manner of impression on you. Can a regard to laws now no longer existing withhold you? Can you not bring yourself to usurp an authority?

No, no, my dear Aristias, answered Phocion, I am not to be told that affuming a short and temporary authority, and this only to restore and strengthen the public liberty, is no tyranny. When the law governs, every fubject is to obey; -but when, by its subversion, fociety comes to be diffolved, every citizen becomes a magistrate, and invested with all the power which justice can confer; and the welfare of the republic is to be his fupreme law.— Thrafibulus, in freeing us from the yoke of the thirty tyrants, gained immortal glory; yet, take it from me, he who frees us from the tyranny of a hundred passions, all much more cruel than Critias, would approve himfelf much his fuperior. boung abetted by or

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But, my dear Aristias, all our evils are not yet known to you. In the account I have given you of the feveral distempers incident to a republic, I have not yet informed you that some circumstances, in a manner foreign to this republic, may render its fituation much more deplorable: it may be in danger both from its own vices and those of its neighbours; and what indeed much increases my apprehenfions for our country, is to fee all the cities of Greece reciprocally plotting each other's ruin, yet a formidable and ambitious enemy at our gates, watching a pretence to interfere in our concerns, and thus slip his yoke on us. So, let us not by any unfeafonable attempts to fecure the republic, promote his defigns. Such a revolution as Lycurgus formerly brought about in Lacedemon cannot be executed without extreme convulsions. At the very first appearance of good morals, what an opposition would our corrupt citizens raise? Sure of being abetted by our jealous But,

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jealous and turbulent neighbours, they would exclaim against the reformers as innovating tyrants, and make all Greece and Macedonia ring with their complaints. Then Philip, under colour of protecting one part of the citizens, and preserving the public peace, would march into Attica; his pensioners, his friends, and the enemies to virtue, would open the gates to him; and he, to make himself necessary, and lay the foundations of his dominion among us, would not fail siding with the iniquitous and immoral party.

Being weak and corrupt at home, and threatened from abroad, it behoves us to adapt our politics to our fituation, which certainly is fuch, that any thing of a very strong remedy must necessarily bring on destruction. An effectual reformation of our abuses requires other times and other circumstances, which I heartily pray the gods to send; and I trust, Aristias, they will send such. This Macedonian power, though such a bugbear to us, rests but on a weak

a weak foundation. Till Macedonia moulders again into the obscurity out of which Philip has raised it, let us carry our views no farther than our preservation, and be satisfied with not being overwhelmed. In the want of every other virtue, let us at least adhere to moderation and prudence. The impetuous eloquence of Demosthenes gives me much uneafiness. Should he unhappily rouze us from our lethargy, and induce us, in a fit of temerity or indignation, to declare war against Macedonia, we are undone. Should not his having so often failed in endeavouring to kindle in us fome spark of virtue, convince him that we are capable only of starts of resentment, and not even so happy as to retain that ferment for any time, For us to go about any thing which requires a persevering spirit and prudence, would be a fatal precipitancy.

Passions are known sometimes to break out, and act with a kind of enthusiasm. Cowards, misers, and others have instants of

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valour and profuseness; but no stress is to be laid on these effervescences. The farther a passion starts aside from its character, the fooner it returns to it. For our passions to be depended on, they must have passed through many alternatives of action and extinction, and thus have left the foul time to contract habits. New habits are frail; but slender trials, often repeated, corroborate them; whereas very great obstacles destroy them. My inference from hence is, that circumstanced as we now are, our very passions can be of no avail to us. But, fay fome, fortune may stand our friend; be it known to them, that lucky chances are to be expected only by virtuous republics; and these alone are able to improve fortune's favours. I am continually faying to the Athenians, Do not conceit yourselves to be that people which overthrew the forces of Afia. I am for opposing Demosthene's politics as rash. I declare for peace, as a war would in all appearance prove our ruin. Let us be fenfible

fensible of our force, or rather of our weakness; and as we are not the strongest, let us prudently keep in with those who are.

After these last words, which were uttered less faintly than the fore part of this discourse, Phocion ceased speaking; and as we now drew near to Athens, he made a stop, and fixedly viewing the city, his eyes were filled with tears. My dear Cleophanes, how expressive are the tears of a great man! Aristias, you are young, continued Phocion, and may the gods grant that the calamities which hang over our country may not fall on it in your time. Whatever comes to pass, arm yourself with a wife fortitude, never forfake the republic; this very day begin to do it effential fervice by fetting an example of good morals to our youth, who, so far from being the hope of our country, increase its despair. Should ever your counfels be listened to, should you ever be at the helm of this ship, now so cribbled and crazy, do not think of stirring out of harbour, fenfible

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bour, much less of venturing on the main seas, till it has a thorough repair. If the gods are pleased to favour us with a return of happier circumstances; if we have nothing farther to fear but from ourselves; if, in a word, we lay aside our vices; if propitious heaven exalts you to be the Lycurgus of Athens, then, my dear Aristias, call to mind the counsels which my friendship recommends to you.

Always bear in mind, that, without morals, laws are but a dead letter. The noregard will be paid to them, never forget that the public morals are formed by the domestic virtues. Be it your leading maxim, that it is only by virtue a state can enjoy settled happiness and prosperity. Ambition, injustice, intrigue, cunning, riches, strength, and violence, may serve a turn; but the successes they procure soon see their period, and the consequences are always big with great mischiefs. Set out on these principles, Aristias, and you will find politics to be a certain and easy ficience.

If you depart from them, obstacles will be continually rifing up in crouds against you. When policy is employed at home in combating fometimes one vice, fometimes another, that it must either deceive the citizens or govern them by terror, can it possibly answer the wants of fociety? If abroad, it be under a neceffity of justifying one violence by another, of concealing one piece of knavery by a fresh fraud, of patching up lies by lies, to extricate it from the chaos in which it foon becomes involved by fuch prevarication, is a talk for the power of a deity. Neglect nothing, leave no stone unturned, try every thing to clear the republic of its vices, lose not a fingle moment, the danger is urgent, and especially if but one of your enemies has entered on a habit of I have trembled for Greece: I virtue. have been more uneasy than ever for Athens, on perceiving that Philip's fagacious ambition was enuring the Macedonians to sobriety, labour, patience, and discipline.

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When the republic shall be reconciled to its duties, be it your endeavour to bring it to delight in them more and more. Never be off your guard, for the passions which you have to fight against are never at rest. We are never virtuous enough, for we are never too happy. Whoever halts in the road to virtue, loses ground without being aware of bit. The diftempers of a state are to be obviated; use proper remedies before-hand, as even at their first breaking out they may be incurable. Prevent them, I fay, as they have always fome preceding symptom: hold it for certain that our greatest enemies are within us, and these are our pasfions. If you are not acquainted with their filent and intricate marches, you will be furprized by them like an indolent general neglecting to get intelligence of the enemy's motions. Without studying their infidious language, you will be apt, my dear Aristias, to imagine it the voice of sione P 2 reason

reason and candour. If you draw your neighbours into unequal alliances, such alliances will be always dubious and broken on the very first opportunity. Depend on allies no farther than you are useful to them, and they conside in your courage and probity. In a word, if you love your country, and would promote its good, love and promote the good of all men; believed and promote the good of all men; believed and of all all all and promote the good of all

This, Ariffias, is the furninary of what I had to fay to you on the fundamental principles of politics; feveral other branches of knowledge are undoubtedly required in a flatefinary; and you must spare no pains speedily to make yourself master of them. You cannot be too well acquainted with the laws and customs of your own country; of its allies, and indeed of every nation from whom it has any thing to hope or fear. You will dearn how to deal with men by conversing with them, yet never expect that your own private experience alone

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alone can furnish you with all the light and knowledge you will stand in need of. Should you know only what you yourfelf have feen, you will every moment be at a loss, your ignorance will be a continual burden to you, unless, which is worse, you buoy yourself up with an ill-grounded conceit of your abilities. Study history, as there the causes of happy and unhappy events will be fure guides to you, and furnish you with a knowledge both certain and comprehensive; for the past is an image, or rather a prediction of what is to come. Closely examine into the virtues and vices of a people, and then, like Jupiter, whom the poets feign to weigh the fate of republics and monarchies in his golden scales, you will know what goods or what evils it has to expect.

Never, my dear Aristias, will you make agood citizen, if, from this very hour, you do not labour to qualify yourself to be one day an excellent magistrate. Before you

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214 PHOCION'S CONVERSATIONS.

offer to stand for an employment, be sure to acquire all the knowledge necessary to the worthy discharge of it. It is too late to learn when you are called to action; and he who acts without being previously well grounded in his functions, must take precedents, form, and custom, for his rule; and these are frequently borne down by the vague course of events. To acquit yourself of your employment with honour, you must get a knowledge of the functions of your colleagues and of all your partners in the administration. He who is acquainted with only one branch of government will acquit himself but aukwardly. Heartily concur with them, and never pretend to require that they shall sacrifice the several departments in their charge, to that one of which you have the management. To conclude, my dear Aristias, be exceeding careful of your reputation; it is not enough for a magistrate to be in reality a thorough good man,

PHOCION'S CONVERSATIONS. 215

man, his virtue must be above all suspicion. If the people have a high opinion of you, be assured that all the laws under your cognizance will have their due weight; and you may, without any difficulty, accomplish any good designs, and make your administration a public blessing.

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PHOCION'S CONVERSATIONS.

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THENS (p. 1.) was of all the cities in Greece most celebrated for philosophers and literati, and equal to any for great commanders; it was likewise distinguished for stately and elegant buildings: but, at present, it makes but a wretched figure in comparison of its antient splendor, when its circus exceeded twenty-two Roman miles. The inhabitants, who speak a corrupt Greek, are about twelve thousand, three parts Christians and the rest Turks, no Jews being permitted. It is the see of an archbishop, whose revenue amounts to sour hundred thousand dollars a-year, yet does not

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not the cathedral, in point of ornament, surpass a common parish church in England. This city belongs to the Turks, and stands on the

gulf of Engia.

It is now called Sethnes, and defended by a citadel, which was the Aeropolis, standing between two eminences, one of which was the Museum, and the other mount Anchesmico. The streets are very narrow. Among its antiquities those of the castle are in the best preservation. This castle stands on an ascent, and in it is the once celebrated Parthenion, a temple of Minerva, now a mosque, accounted the finest piece of antiquity of white marble in the whole world; and in the frontispiece are figures of armed horsemen. At the foot of the castle are still standing seventeen columns of white marble, out of three hundred, the original number in Theseus's palace; the columns are at least eighteen feet in circumference, and of a proportionable height. Over a gate still remaining intire, is this inscription: The city of Athens is truly Thefeus's city; and on the infide of the faid gate, This city of Atbens is Adrian's city, and not Thefeus's. Here is still feen the Pharari, or Demosthenes's lantern, where that great orator used to shut himself up to study his art. It is a small marble tower, with fix fluted pillars round it, and covered with a dome, and over it a lamp. The other most remarkable ruins are those of the Areopagus, a red thouland dollars a-year, yet does

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temple of victory, Lycurgus's arfenal, a temple of Minerva, and the tower of the winds mentioned by Vitruvius.

For an excellent history of this famous republic, see archbishop Potter's Antiquities of Greece.

(1) The cities of Greece being, before the Peloponefian war, free and independent, yet united by alliances and folemn oaths, not much unlike the Swifs cantons, formed a fcederal republic. Amidst all the differences which arose between these allies, it was a maxim among the Greeks, that the whole nation had and could have but one and the fame interest; and hostilities against one another were not looked on as real wars. On this account, Plato fays, in his fifth book of the Republic, Aio equidem Græcos omnes inter se, &c. " I indeed say, "that all the Greeks are by descent related " and kinsfolks, and of a different and foreign " race from the Barbarians -- Therefore, " when Greece shall fight against Barbarians, " or the Barbarians against Greece, we will " fay that war is waged, and that they are ene-" mies by nature, and these animosities we will call war. But when Greeks rife up against Greeks, we will fay that they are friends by " nature; but labouring under a distemper and agitated with feditions, and thefe feditions e let us denominate enmities." The Peloponefian war, which was undertaken from views of ambition

ambition, and carried on for about thirty years, with the greatest obstinacy by the Athenians, the Lacedemonians and their allies, absolutely broke all connexion among the Greeks. Their subsequent armaments were not merely to revenge an injury and obtain compensation; but to destroy their enemies, enslave their neighbours, and lord it over all Greece: so that if Plato could call these sanguinary wars only seditions or infurrestions, it was by way of intimating to the Greeks their duty, and reviving in them the

prudent system of their fathers.

(2) After the Persians, being worsted by sea and land, had abandoned the project of enflaying Greece, the Athenians carried the war into Asia, in order to free the Athenian colonies from Xerxes's yoke. This people being habituated to peace, and confequently averse to war, Athens accordingly exempted them from it, only requiring an annual tribute of fixty talents, to defray the charges of its army. Paulanias, in book viii. chap. 52. vehemently reproaches Aristides on this head, as opening a door to avarice, and accustoming the Greeks to make a mercenary traffic of their alliances and forces. Pericles, succeeding Cimon in the government of Athens, raised this tribute to six hundred talents, which proved the loss of the whole. The Affatic Greeks plainly feeing the total impropriety of making farther war on Persia, as now fufficiently humbled, murmured and complained noiridats

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plained of the continuance of an impost which ruined them; therefore the Athenians found themselves obliged to procure payment by force of arms. A talent weighed fixty pounds troy weight, and was equal to about three hundred and fifty three pounds sterling; the talent of gold was of the like weight, and its modern, value five thousand such pounds.

(2) It is probable, that the Athenians would have abused their advantages with still greater rigour than the Spartans: thefe were habitually moderate, and had fignally approved themselves fuch during the very heat of the Peloponefian war whereas the former had always thewn an ambitious principle. They had from their very origin pretended to have a kind of right over the countries which produce corn, olives trees, and vines; and promifed themfelves one day to become actual mafters of them. In the negoclation which preceded the Peloponelian war, Athens made no fecret of its real fentiments Thucydides, book il chap. 4. makes its ambaffadors to fay, "The strongest have always been the mafters. It is not we that are the authors of this regulation; it is founded in "nature itself," Strange politicks! and still ftranger is it, that a ftate fhould dare to avow fuch From the manner in which Athens treated its allies, it may be concluded how the would have treated all Greece, had the reduced the Spartans to that condition which proved her own

own lot. Her dominion would not have been more lasting or more quiet than that of Sparta proved, when it set up to reign by sorce. The Athenians would have seen continual revolts break out against them; and their government, being both weak and tumultuous, would soon have brought itself to a period.

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The great King (p. 7.1.23.) The diffinguishing stile of the kings of Persia, whose residence was Persepolis, a most splendid city, as appears from the grandeur of its ruins, having been set on fire and destroyed by Alexander the Great

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(4) What Ariffias fays here in praise of his country, borders on the import of a passage in the funeral oration delivered by Pericles at the obsequies of those who had fallen in the first campaign of the Peloponesian war. See Thucydides, book xi. chap. 7. Such a discourse is perfectly answerable to the orator, that is, to a magistrate, who, in order to increase his power, had corrupted the morals of his republic. Ariftides, Themistocles, and Cimon, would not have spoken so. The qualities which Pericles extols in the Athenians are fo many vices, but artfully disguised under the deceptive ornaments of eloquence. When the Athenians, ever noted for vanity and fondness of praise, had departed from their virtue, they fell to commending their very vices, and made them matter of boaft, instead of returning to their former morals. (5) This nwo

disgust to the youth of Athens, who, proud of their acquisitions in the schools of the Sophists, concluded, that the republic would be excellently governed, were they permitted to speak in public, and placed at the head of affairs. This law ceased to be strictly observed in Phocion's time; for, according to Abbé Olivet's remarks on the first Philippic, Demosthenes was only in his thirtieth year when he made that speech. This orator might have been the only one excepted from the general rule, in regard to his eminent talents; though it is more likely to have been a presumption, to which he was incouraged by the difregard into which the ancient laws were fallen.

Lycurgus, (p. 22. l. 15.) The Lacedemonians had been the most disorderly people in all Greece, tilla discipline, introduced by Lycurgus, brought about that reformation for which they became so eminently distinguished. Lycurgus was a man of such endowments, that, according to history, on his entering the temple at Delphi to consult the oracle, the Pythian addressed him in these words:

Welcome, Lycurgus, to this happy place,
Thou favrite of heaven; I doubting fland
Whether I shall pronounce thee god or man,
Inclining yet to think thou art a God.

His very countrymen, though he had brought their

their defires under such rigid mortification, erected a temple to him after his death, and paid

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him divine honours. Herodotus.

Hilotes (p. 23. 1. 15.) Concerning the Hilotes; Dr. Potter fays: But though almost all the Grecians had their share in military glory, yet were the reft far inferior to the Lacedemonians, who, by the law of their country, were under an obligation to make war their profession, and thus never applied themselves to any art or employment, or the exercise of trades, which they accounted unworthy of generous and free-born fouls; but committing all fuch care to the Hilotes, who were a genteeler fort of slaves, spent their time in manly exercise, to render their bodies strong and active. But Plutarch's account of this class, in his Life of Lycurgus, has fomething extremely flocking: he fays, that it was usual for numbers of young men to go privately into the country, and lurking in thickets and elefts, iffue out at night and murder all the Hilotes they could light on, and fometimes fet on them by day as they were at work in the fields; and to authorize fuch maffacres, the ephori or chief magistrates used, at the commencement of their office, formally to declare war against their Hilotes. It is certain that the Spartans dealt very hardly with them; for it was a common thing to compel them to drink to excess, and in that condition to lead them into the public halls, that their children might fee what a contemptible and beaftly fight fight a drunken man is: they made them dance indecent dances, and fing ridiculous fongs, for-bidding them expressly to meddle with anything elegant and serious, for they would not bave them prophaned by their mouths. When the Thebans took a great number of Hilotes prisoners, they could not prevail with them to sing any odes of Terpander, Alcenan, or Spendon, for, said they, those are our masters songs, we dare not sing them. Thus it was no wrong observation, that, in Sparta, he who was free, was most so; and he that was a slave was the greatest slave in the world.

(P. 24. l. 6.) Here I cannot forbear laying before my readers an admirable passage of Cicero's Republic: "Right reason is indeed " a true law, agreeable to nature, diffused " over all, constant, eternal, which by com-" manding calls to duty, by forbidding deters " from fraud. It is not lawful either to " abrogate this law, derogate any thing from " it, nor may it be entirely abrogated. Nor " even can we be exempted from this law by " the fenate or people; nor may there be an " expounder or other interpreter of it fought " for; nor shall there be one law at Rome, " another at Athens, one now and one after-" wards; but one law both eternal and immut-" able shall restrain all nations and at all times; " and one God shall be, as it were, the common " mafter and governor of all, he the inventor, cc con-

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" controvertor, and publisher of this law; whom " whofoever will not obey, he shall fly from " himself and despise the nature of man; and " for this very default shall suffer the greatest " punishments, even tho' he escape those which " are thought to be his due." It is this reason, of which Cicero speaks thus sublimely, and not less justly, which should be the principle and rule of all morality and all politics. The fole object and scope of Phocion's conversations is to unfold and corroborate this important truth. Cicero says farther in his Treatise of Laws: " But " what is, I will not fay in man only, but in " all heaven and earth, more divine than " reason? Which when grown to maturity and "perfect, is properly denominated wisdom; " and nothing being better than reason, both " in man and in God, reason is what pri-"marily connects man and deity - For it is the one law by which human fociety " is bound, and which one law has or-" dained. Which law is the found reason of " commanding and prohibiting; of which " whoever is ignorant is unjust, whether it be " written any where or no where. -- Because " if laws were appointed by the command of " the people, the decrees of princes, or the " decisions of judges, it would be lawful to " fleal, to adulterate right, and substitute false " wills, if these were approved by the suffrages " or decrees of the multitude: for if the " power

" power of fools be fo great, that the nature of things may be changed by their votes,

" why do they not vote, that evil and destruc-

"tive things should be looked upon as good and salutary? Or why, since law may make

" wrong right, it may not make evil good?"

Xenocrates, (p. 32. 1. 4.) one of the most illustrious Greek philosophers. He very early became a disciple of Plato, for whom he ever retained fuch a respect that he attended him on his voyage to Sicily, where Dionysius the Tyrant, one day threatening Plato that somebody should cut bis bead off, Xenocrates inftantly answered: no body shall do it whilst mine is on my shoulders. He studied under Plato at the same time as Aristotle, but not with like talents, being flow and his conception fomething obtuse: whereas Aristotle, with much vivacity, had such a quick penetration, that Plato used to say, one stood in need of a spur and the other of a bridle; but if Xenocrates came short of Aristotle in intellects, he greatly outstripped him in the practice of moral philosophy. He was grave and fober even to aufterity, of fo ferious a cast, and so very different from the sprightly politeness of the Athenians, that Plato often exhorted him to facrifice to the graces. These reprimands from Plato did not ruffle him, and when urged to vindicate himself, he would answer: it is all for my good that he uses me so. He is especially praised for his chastity; and Phryne, Q 2

the most beautiful courtesan of all Greece, having laid a wager that she would bring him to her lure, found all her charms and blandishments too weak for his virtue. Being laughed at for her defeat, and payment of the wager infifted on, she answered, that she bad not lost, the bet being that she would bring a man and not a statue to her lure. He was uniform in all the other parts of moderation, loving neither entertainments, riches, nor praise; and so temperate, that fometimes his provisions lasted till unfit for use, which gave rise to a common saying of Xenocrates's cheefe for a thing which had lasted a long time. A maxim of his was, that his disciples should be acquainted with the mathematics before their admiffion into his school, faying, that otherwise they bad not the key to philosophy. He had fuch a character for candour and veracity that the magistracy of Athens exempted him from swearing to his depositions. Polemon, a young rake of quality, being in his cups, bolted into Xenocrates's auditory with intent to make a mock of him. The audience could not forbear expressing their indignation; but Xenocrates composedly shifted his lecture to temperance, and fet forth that virtue with fuch force, fuch dignity, and elevation, as to work a reformation. The profligate immediately became a votary to virtue, made water his only liquor, and persevered in his course of morality with fuch attachment, that he fucceeded Xenocrates in

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in that very school. Such a conversion made a great noise, and gained Xenocrates such refpect, that on his appearing abroad, the licentious young men used to steal off the street to avoid meeting him. Alexander the Great had fuch a value for him as to fend him fifty talents, a large fum in those days; but the philosopher inviting his messengers to a supper, had only his common fare ferved. The next day, on their asking him to whom they must deliver their master's royal present, he made answer, wby, gentlemen, bas not yesterday's supper given you to understand that I do not want money? However, on Alexander's deputies urging him, he accepted of a small sum, that he might not seem to flight fo great a monarch. It is strange that the Athenians should have allowed a philofopher of fuch merit to be so scandalously used by the farmers and receivers of their duties; for though they had been once fined for offering to drag Xenocrates to prison, as not having paid a tax laid on foreigners, it is certain that those very collectors had afterwards the barbarity to fell him, as not having wherewith to pay the duty; but Demetrius Phalereus, shocked at such a procedure, bought Xenocrates, and immediately fet him at liberty. Xenocrates was very near ninety when a fall in the dark put an end to his valuable life. Besides the Art of Government, which he wrote at Alexander's defire, he was the author of fix books on nature, fix on philo-

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philosophy, and one on riches; but none of them have reached us. It is amazing, and really deplorable, that so excellent a philosopher should have been so wretched a divine, holding no other deity than the sky and the seven planets as eight gods; a most absurd doctrine, but most ingeniously consuted by Cicero in his first book of the Nature of the Gods.

(7) Critius was one of the thirty tyrants whom Lysander set up at Athens, and the very worst of them. He was the author of that so ridiculous law, by which the art of reasoning was not to be taught.

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CONVERSATION II.

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HE (p. 50. 1. 11.) Athenian oaths taken by judges and magistrates cannot be said to want strictness. That of a judge in their court of the greatest business was this: I will give fentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people of Athens-I will not confent to place the supreme power in the hands of a fingle person or a few; or permit any man to diffolve the commonwealth, or fo much as to give his vote or make an oration proposing such a revolution—I will not endeavour to discharge private debts, or to make any divisions of lands or houses-I will not restore persons sent into banishment or pardon those that are condemned to die, or expel any man out of the city contrary to the laws and the decrees of the people, or permit any other person so to do-I will not elect any person into any public employ who has filled any former office and not given in his accounts; nor will I consent that any person shall bear two offices, or be twice elected into the same office in one year-I will not receive gifts myself, nor shall any other for me; nor will I permit any other person to Q4

do the like by any means directly or indirectly. to pervert justice in the court of Heliæa-I am not under thirty years of age-1 will hear both plaintiff and defendant without partiality-I fwear by Jupiter, Neptune, and Ceres, if I violate this oath, or any part of it, may I perish with my whole family; but, if I religiously ob-

ferve it, may we live and prosper.

The judges in all their courts were obliged to take a folemn oath by the paternal Apollo, Ceres, and Jupiter the king, that they would give sentence uprightly, according to law; or where the law was filent, according to the best

of their judgment.

Pericles (p. 51. 1. 15.) one of the greatest men whom Athens or all antient Greece ever produced, being equally the eminent warrior, statesman, and orator. His abilities gained him fech a monarchical authority in the government of Athens, that he had his competitor Cimon, though highly deserving of the commonwealth, It is related that Cimon's fifter cenbanished. furing that procedure against her brother in very violent terms, he only answered, wrath does not become your years. He however had Cimon's exile repealed some time after. When chief of the Athenians, he gained the celebrated victory of Nemea against the Sicyonians, and at the defire of Aspalia, a famous courtesan, laid wafte Acarnania, He likewise took Samos, though not till after a fiege of nine months, and at which, Artemon ob

Artemon of Claromene invented the ram, the tortoife, and other military machines. It was through Pericles's exhortations that the Athenians continued the war against the Lacedemonians, for which he was afterwards stripped of all his posts, but soon restored. He died in the third year of that war, four hundred and twentynine years before Julius Cæfar, leaving behind him nine trophies raifed in commemoration of his victories. Whenever Pericles went to head the army, the reflection uppermost in his mind was, that be commanded free men, and such as were likewise Athenians and Greeks. The poet Sophocles, his colleague, walking with him, and breaking out into an exclamation at the beauty of a young woman who passed by, a magistrate, faid Pericles to him, should have not only his bands pure, but his very eyes and tongue. The strictness of the Athenian discipline appeared in his natural fon Pericles, who loft his head for omitting to bury the flain in a battle which he had gained against the Lacedemonians.

(1) The affluence of money brought to Athens by the tributes of the allies, the luxury confequential to it, and the compensations which Pericles caused to be paid to the people, that they might be prefent at the shews and public judgements, were the leading causes of the depravation of the Athenians. Entertainments and diversions engrossed their whole attention Infrasd of a voluntary mil.

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and talk. The useless arts being excessively encouraged, made very rapid progresses; and the Athenians now valuing themselves only on tafte, elegance, and nicery, confidered their fathers as coarse and low-lived, and gave themfelves no manner of concern about acquiring their virtue. It is an excellent sketch which Plato, book viii. of his Commonwealth, gives of the progresses, and if I may be allowed the expression, of the generation of vices in an over-opulent city. for nonsolist ads grants and

(2) What Phocion fays here of Plato, perfectly agrees with the doctrine laid down by that philosopher in his Treatile of Laws, b. iv. where he declares for the government of Crete and of Sparta: The state, answers he to Clinias a Cretan, and to Magillus a Lacedemonian, who after giving him an account of the administration of their republics, were at a loss in what class of government to place them; the state, gentlemen, of which it is your happiness to be members, is a real republic; but those we have just been speaking of (aristocracy, democracy, and monarchy) are far from being commonwealths; they are communities where the subjects are little better than slaves to the magistrates and rulers.

No fuch constitution is, says he again in the fame work, book viii. a republic; call them confusions and tumults, and you will give them their right name. Instead of a voluntary sub-

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mission or mild administration, they are overrun with a turbulent refractoriness on one hand. and an arbitrary feverity on the other.

All the antient philosophers have thought like Plato, and the most celebrated statesmen have ever been for fuch a mixed police, in which the laws being fuperior to the rulers, and the people subordinate to these, all the advantages of the three ordinary governments should be united without any of their defects. Whereas, fuch was the levity and giddiness of the Greeks, the Spartans excepted, and so jealous were they of their independency, as to dread the yoke of laws, without which, however, freedom cannot fubfift, that nothing would go down with them but a total democracy. In all the republics, the affembly of the people not only held the legislative power, but it seldom left the magistrates at liberty to discharge the functions of their office. At Athens, the authority of the people knew no bounds, whilst the magistrates had only an empty name. The senate's orders were eluded, its acts and decrees refeinded, if not adopted to the popular humour.

To ask which is the best government, whether monarchy, ariftocracy, or democracy, is asking, what greater or leffer evils may be caused by the passions of a prince, of a senate, or those of the populace? Asking whether a mixed government be better thany an other governt al coming se accomica

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ment, is asking, whether passions be as wife,

as just, as moderate, as laws?

Ephori, (p. 58. l. 13.) Lacedemonian judges established even by one of their kings, as a check to improper stretches of prerogative: they pronounced their sentences sitting on thrones; and the kings themselves were answerable to them for their administration.

The same disorders and the same missortunes of which the other cities of Greece had been the scene, broke out in Lacedemon. It underwent a thousand revolutions, till the extinction of both branches of its lawful kings; and it may be said to have been governed alternately, and often at the same time, by the passions of its kings, its senate, the ephori, and the people. Tyrants seized on the authority; and the Lacedemonians, despised abroad and wretched at home, at length were involved in the same fate as the other Greeks, being reduced under the Roman dominion.

The fortune of the Romans is a further and very strong proof of the truth which Phocion is here inculcating on Aristias, that is, of the power of good morals. To these indeed it was chiefly owing, that the quarrels which arose between the Patricians and Plebeians, after the expulsion of the Tarquins, did not prove the ruin of the infant republic, which must have been the consequence of coming to extremities.

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These very quarrels, by the intervention of good morals, fet up at Rome a mixed government, the proportions of which were nearly the fame as those of the Lacedemonian constitution. Whilst morals had their due influence. the Romans behaved in their diffensions with equity and moderation; and the partition of the public power between the confuls, the tribunes, and the people, subfisted in an equilibrium, which could not but make the republic happy and flourishing. Whereas Rome no fooner became corrupted by the glory of its victories, and the riches of the nations which it had conquered, than its vices, now stronger than the censors, put them to silence. These magiftrates, even at first, exercised their functions with fome referve: at last they began to fear, and from that time the passions, being without any curb, trampled on the public authority. The laws could inforce no respect from either magistrates or citizens, who imagined they might do any thing to gratify their avarice and ambition. This was a fure portent of those incessant wars, which were carried on with fuch fanguinary animofity, and made way for the absolute government of emperors, who, according to their historical characters, were fo many monsters. At length no remains of virtue being left in the Roman empire, it was over-run by Barbarians. The ton but lov The

The more it is considered, the more evident will it be, that liberty without morals degenerates into licentiousness; and that licentiousness necessarily produces a domestic tyranny, or subjection to a foreign power. A celebrated author has said, that monarchy might dispense with virtue and govern by honour; but when he comes to explain what he means by honour, it is seen, that he means virtue, or means nothing at all.

(4) The cause of this long delay, says Mr. Charpentier in his Life of Socrates, was from hence: That the Athenians every year sent a ship to the isle of Delos to offer up sacrifices. And it was a point of religion to suspend all capital executions within the city, from the time that the priest of Apollo put a garland on the poop of this ship, as a signal for its departure, till the return of the ship; and the sentence against Socrates, being pronounced the day after that ceremony, the execution was of course deferred for thirty days, which at that time the voyage took up.

(5) What Phocion says here of the Sophists of his time may very well be applied to Machiavel, who, thoughin his Prince, "He teaches "only tyranny, injustice, and deceit, yet would he have his pupil wear the mask of feveral virtues; and, to avoid being hated and despised, seem merciful, faithful to his word, honest, and religious." But Machiavel did not consider, that a person in a high post,

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post, and invested with the management of public affairs, never appears different from what he really is. Whatever mask an hypocrite in fuch a station may put on, he is easily seen into and judged of accordingly. A man of fense may be imposed upon once, but not twice. Generally speaking, fools are more suspicious than men of fense, and when once they have been deceived, they are still more intractable. They always look on him by whom they have been duped as a rogue; and mistrust him, even when he has no kind of interest to deceive them. Machiavel may fay, that pope Alexander VI. never did any thing but cheat, and that his cheats always succeeded. It is what nobody will believe, and he does not deserve to be refuted.

Sefostris, (p. 73. l. 6.) an Egyptian king, and one of the greatest conquerors that ever reigned in the world, lived five centuries before the Trojan war, which was one thousand and two hundred years prior to the Christian æra. Having formed a plan for the total reduction of all Asia, and leaving his brother Armaïs, regent of his kingdom, he prosecuted his enterprize with astonishing success and rapidity, subduing the Assyrians, Medes, and Scythians, conquering Phenicia, Syria, and all the provinces of Asia Minor, with many other countries, leaving every where pillars with inscriptions, as everlasting monuments of his victories;

victories; till receiving advice that his perfidious brother was getting the fovereignty into his own hands, he broke off the career of his atchievements, and speedily returned to Egypt, where, after driving Armaïs out of the country, he reigned in great splendor and reputation. Among his civil schemes, he is said to have undertaken a canal for a communication between the Red-sea and the Nile.

Dejoces's (p. 74. l. 20.) wisdom. Of this extolled legislator, Herodotus gives the following account:

After the Affyrians had possessed the empire of Upper Asia five hundred and twenty years, the Medes were the first that revolted from them. and strenuously contending for liberty, shook off the yoke of fervitude with fuch courage, that other nations imitated their example. They made and enjoyed their own laws for some time all over that continent; but were again reduced under a tyranny by the artifice of Dejoces, himself a Mede, and son to Phraortes, who being a subtil man, and aiming at absolute power, effected his design in this manner. The Medes were, at that time, distributed into feveral districts, and Dejoces having lived among them before in confiderable efteem, and now feeing all kinds of licentiousness spread over the whole country, applied himself to the exercise of justice with great zeal and diligence; though well knowing how much the just were hated by

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men of violence. The Medes of the same diftrict, observing the equity of his conduct, chose him for their judge, and he aspiring to compass the sovereign power, discharged that office with unexceptionable wisdom and probity: thus he acquired much honour, not only in the district where he lived, but also among those of the other divisions, who were made to believe that Dejoces was the only impartial judge in the whole nation; and therefore fuch as thought themselves injured by unjust sentences came from all parts to him, in order to obtain relief, till, at last, no man would commit the decision of a difference to any other person. In the end, the numbers of those who applied to him for redress, augmenting in proportion to the great fame of his equity, Dejoces, seeing the whole care of distributing justice devolved upon his person, absented himself from the place where he used to set, and declared, he would pronounce no more judgments, because he could not find his account in spending the day in doing right to others, whilst his own affairs were neglected. Upon this, rapine and all manner of injuries growing far more frequent in every part than before, the Medes called a general affembly; and as they were confulting about the present state of things, the partizans of Dejoces gave a very plaufible turn to the affair : " If, faid they, we continue our present condition, we cannot expect to live long in this country: let us therefore odi

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therefore constitute a king, that the nation may be governed by good laws, and that applying our care to our own business, we may not be constrained, through the evils of anarchy, to abandon our habitations." The Medes perfuaded by these discourses, and resolving to have a king, the next question was, who should be the perfon? and presently Dejoces was named, and with unanimous elogiums approved. On his election, he commanded them to build him a palace fuitable to the dignity of a king, and required guards for the fecurity of his person. The Medes obeyed, and on a ground of his own chusing, erected a grand fabric for his use, permitting him, at the same time, to chuse for his guard such persons as he should think fit out of the whole nation. Being thus possessed of the power, he brought the Medes to come under one polity, and, laying afide all care of other places, to build one city furrounded with fortifications; accordingly then were built those magnificent walls, now known by the name of Echatana. They are of a circular form one within the other, and each gradually rifing above the other just the exact height of the battlements; and within the innermost circle of the feven was the king's palace and treasury. The first and most spacious of these walls is equal in circumference to the superb city of Athens, and white from the foot of the battlements; the second is black, the third of a purple colour, the

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the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep orange; but of the two innermost walls, one is painted on the battlements with a filver colour, and the other is gilded with gold. Dejoces, having thus provided a fafe and stately residence, commanded the people to fix their dwellings without the city walls, and established the following rules as indifpenfable: That no man should be admitted to the king's presence, but transact every thing with him by written messages: that none should be permitted to see him; and that to, laugh or spit in his presence should be punishable. These orders chiefly proceeded from a notion that they who were totally debarred from feeing him, would easily be induced to think him of a superior nature to themselves. He was very fevere in the execution of justice. The litigants were to fend him their case in writing, and after confideration it was carried to proper officers with his decision. But on receiving positive information of one man having injured another, he immediately fent for the offender, and punished him according to his crime; and in order to obtain such informations be maintained many spies throughout his dominions. Amidst all these innovations and severities he died peaceably, after a reign of fiftythree years; and was succeeded by his fon Phraortes, who made the first expedition against the Persians, and reduced them under the dominion of the Medes, till about a hundred and R 2

thirty years after, Cyrus restored the Persian glory, by a total overthrow of the Medes. Cyrus lived between five and six hundred years before Christ.

(6) The period when the empire of the Macedonians made the greatest figure, was on Alexander's conquering Darius; but if that prince reigned quietly over vanquished Asia, the Asiatic vices were beginning to vanquish that prince himself. Whether this growing corruption be confidered, or whether we furvey what means Alexander had to hinder the difmembering of his vast dominions, it must be thought, that a longer life would only have fullied all the glory which he had acquired. If the reader looks back on the history of Alexander's fuccessors, he will see that the Macedomians, who fettled in Asia and Egypt, funk into effeminacy, and all the fcandalous manners and customs of the nations they had conquered. As to Macedonia properly fo called, being reduced to its former limits, by the revolts of the governors of its provinces, what benefit accrued to it from the reign of two fuch kings, as Philip and Alexander? It formerly underwent a thoufand calamitous revolutions; the people were overwhelmed with wretchedness, and the royal family came to a most tragical catastrophe. Various princes usurped the throne, but were soon tumbled from it. The family which had the good fortune to keep possession, never could attain

attain to that authority even over Greece, which Philip had acquired, tho' the Greeks, besides their variances, still retained all those vices which had weakened them. The enemies of Macedonia were without number; and its kings, ever intoxicated with the former reputation of their kingdom, were labouring without fuccess in enterprizes above their strength. Thus weakened and hated by their neighbours, they were conquered by the Romans, whom Greece had called in as instruments to gratify its hatred against Macedonia, and effectually punish the many injurious attempts of that ambitious kingdom.

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CONVERSATION III.

terprizes above their flavorest. Thus weakened

ENOPHON has preserved for us Socrates's conversation with Euthydemus on sensuality; and the following passage in it, I promise myself will not be unacceptable to the reader.

"Have you confidered, faid Socrates, that debauchery, which is ever talking of delights, never gives you a right tafte of any, and that a true sense of pleasure is to be had only in temperance and fobriety? For debauchery, from its very nature, never withstands hunger or thirst, the stimulations of love, or the fatigues of watchings; yet are these the real dispositions for eating and drinking deliciously, and for receiving an exquisite pleasure in amorous embraces, or the illapses of sleep. Hence it is that the intemperate man has less relish in these actions, being necessary and very frequently repeated. Whereas temperance habituating us to wait necessity, imparts an extreme delight to these gratifications.

" It is this virtue, continued Socrates, which likewise fits men for improving both their mind

and body, and capacitates them for governing their family happliy, doing good fervices to their friends and country, and getting the berter of their enemies; which, besides other advantages, imparts a ravishing complacency, of which the licentious know nothing; and indeed how should they know any thing of virtuous actions, being wholly taken up with the pursuit of present delights?

What difference, said Socrates, is there between an irrational animal and a voluptuous man, who, instead of weighing what is most becoming, precipitately flies at what is most pleafurable? The temperate alone examine what things are best, and having, from experience and reasoning, formed an exact discrimination, close with the good and avoid the bad; and this is the very point which constitutes happiness, virtue, and capacity."

(2) Antipater used to say that he had two friends in Athens, Phocion and Demades, one of whom he could never prevail on to accept of any thing, and the avidity of the other he could not fatisfy. This Demades had fuch a genius, that from a common mariner he rose to be an orator, and was of some weight in the affembly of the people. Coming to Phocion at meal time, and feeing his rigid frugality, he faid: " I am furprised, Phocion, that as you can take up with fuch forry fare, you will trouble yourfelf about the business of the state :" and, seeing Philip one

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day insulting the prisoners taken at the battle of Cheronea, Demades had the confidence to say to him, "I wonder that the part of Agementation having been allotted to you, you should

delight to act that of Thersites."

(3) Do not imagine, Glaucos, that I meant those things more of men than of women, that is, those whom nature has qualified for such duties, Rep. 1. 7. See what Plato says, in this place, on the education of women; and he reassumes it in his Treatise of Laws, 1. 7. To me it appears very wrong in our country, that women and men are not diligently trained up to the like employments—I will ever maintain that the education of women ought to be very nearly, if not entirely, the same as that of men; they should be equally instructed in literature and exercises.

(4.) There is not perhaps a greater evidence of a state's acting without principle and system, than burdening the subjects with a multiplicity of laws. A wise legislator goes to the root of any abuses which he would suppress, cuts them off; and thus is order re-established by one single law. Of this, antient and modern history afford many instances. A weak legislator is for arresting the effects of a vice, yet leaves the cause standing: the legislator's injudicious endeavours, so far from producing an amendment in the people, render them incorrigible; contempt of the laws in time grows

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into a general habit. If a law after growing obsolete be revived, this is attributed only to caprice, and very feldom are the necessary meafures taken for preventing a fecond neglect of it. A state without any fixed object, or which does not enter into the nature of things, must of course multiply its laws very much, as acting only according to the circumstances in which it happens to find itself; and these are in a perpetual variation, It is no small misfortune, when the laws are swelled to such a bulk, that no body makes any enquiry about them, and the greater part are not known, even to those who professedly study the constitution. Custom and form of practice assume that authority which belongs only to the laws; and custom and form are known to be unstable in their nature, without any fixed rule of conduct, and by ever modelling themselves according to events open a door to the most flagrant abuses.

Multiplying magistrates is no better than multiplying laws; the less numerous, the greater respect is naturally paid to them, and the more careful are they themselves in the discharge of all their functions. To create new magistrates in a republic, of which the laws and manners are running into corruption, is frequently little more than to introduce new abuses, and multiply the patrons of guilt. Generally speaking, as Phocion says in his second Conversation,

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Concerning this, polity lays down two or three general rules, which cannot be neglected without extreme danger. That a magistrate may not flacken in the discharge of the several functions within his department, his office must be of no long duration. If it be for life, he will, too probably, grow remiss in it, look on it as his property, and mind its emoluments and prerogatives more than the public welfare. The necessities of society are various, of a distinct nature, and separate in the respective occonomy of them; consequently several magistrates must be appointed to superintend them. If you combine in one branch of the administration functions which should be separate, you must exped they will be neglected, or that the magistrate will avail himself of a too extensive power for very pernicious ends : again, if you divide into different offices functions which ought to be conducted by one single hand, the magistrates will be a clog to each other in their administration, and their due authority over the citizens be impaired. Take notice that, in extraordinary emergencies, the usual magistrates do not suffice to answer all the state's necessities. It was no small piece of wisdom in the Romans, to create dictators, or invest consuls with extraordinary powers, as exigencies required.

(5) In all antiquity there was not a people governed

governed with more rigour than the Egyptians, after they had departed from their first institutions. Aristotle says in his Politics, that the kings of Egypt dug Mæris lake, built the pyramids, and had other fuch works performed only to crush the spirit of their refractory sub-

jects by an incessant toil.

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(6) This made Thucidides fay, b. 2. c. 11. that though the constitution of Athens was democratical, its government was a kind of monarchy, the greatest man having all the power, and being, as it were, the depositary of the will of all the citizens. The republic must have been wrecked among the dangers to which it was exposed, after freeing itself from the tyranny of Pisistratus's sons, had it not been its good fortune to have at that juncture a Miltiades, to whose abilities it chiefly owed its decifive victory at Marathon over the Persians. This great foldier was succeeded by Aristides, Themistocles, and Cimon, who, by their fagacity, talents, and illustrious actions, so far gained the public confidence and affection that, giddy and stubborn as democracy is, they raised the Athenians to their own excellent way of thinking. The last Athenian who held this kind of monarchy over his countrymen was Pericles, a man of fuch admirable abilities that, with probity, he would have had very few equals. "They, fays Thucidides, who after him aspired to the government, being men of equal

equal merit, that is little or none, and rivals in station, amidst their practices to supplant one another, played the whole power into the hands of the people, by base condescensions and inveigling blandishments. A consequence of those competitions was, among other mischiefs. the expedition to Sicily, which was loft not fo much by the fault of those employed in it as of those at home, who were quarrelling about the chief command. Their animofities chilled the ardour of the camp, and afterwards kindled open fedition in the city.

(7) On this account it is that Plato says in his Treatise of Laws, b. ii. Nullus civis caupe mercatorque nec sponte nec invitus fiat, ne privati cujusquam fiat minister, qui non æquo in eadem sorte sibi respondeat, nist patris ac matris, aliorumque genere majorum cæterorumque seniorum qui

liberi sunt et liberi vivunt.

What Phocion adds that artificers and handicraftsmen, are to be looked on as no better than flaves, may to fome readers appear carrying the matter too far, and even cruel; but a mature examination will not only clear up the justness of his opinion, but shew it to be very proper, and pregnant with great advantages to the community. Phocion unquestionably had too just a sense of the rights of mankind to say that artificers were to be deprived of the general liberty, and made flaves; all he intended was that men, who, by their profession, could not

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be supposed to have the ideas and sentiments of citizens, should, like slaves, be excluded from all share in the government; and he was in the right. In his estimate, the only proper citizens were the landholders; and it is apparent that a state acting contrary to his maxim must expose itself to many and great inconveniencies.

Of all the great men who ruled the Athenian republic, Aristides was the only one who favoured democracy. With all his probity, he repealed a wife law of Solon, by which such only whose lands yielded at least two hundred measures of wheat, oil, or wine, were qualified to hold any office of consideration in the magiftracy; and though he did not declaredly overthrow he weakened the aristocratical part of the government, which had been a curb to democracy. Every citizen, without distinction, was allowed to stand for and enjoy the offices of state: to this may certainly be, in a great measure imputed the palpable and very detrimental faults, committed by the republic, and the calamities in which it became involved, after the death of Pericles. The restlessness and infolence of the people knew no bounds.

(8) What confirms this is, that I myself recollect to have read in Plato, that the votive pictures for temples should be finished in a day; and only five were allowed to sculptors for making and setting up a monument.

(9) In the times of Aristides and Themisto-

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cles, the leading men of the flate were rivals, but without enmity; or if enemies, they did not make use of base and finister practices, of slander and cabal; their principle was rather a noble emulation, stimulating them to surpass each other in acts of patriotism. The love of glory and of their country refined every malevolent paffion. Ariftides and Themistocles had always clashed in their opinions; but on Xerxes's invasion, their rivalry totally subsided, and the fafety of their country swallowed up all other confiderations. Pericles himfelf, though fo fond of governing Athens alone, had Cimon recalled from his banishment, when he thought his fervices abfolutely necessary to the republic, and they acted in concert: "So very courteous and flexible, says Plutarch, were enmities in those times, and refentment fo placable." In Phocion's time it was no longer so; the orators were a venal tribe, with whom, truth, love of their country, and duty, were of no weight, proftituting their talents either to Philip, or the king of Persia, or some faction of powerful citizens, or any other opulent corrupter.

(10) Phocion here briefly puts Aristias in mind of the three great faults of Pericles's administration. He procured a decree to be passed, that the states should give a gratuity or fee to the citizens for their attendance at the shews and the public trials. He promoted useless art and trades, and introduced into Athens

Athens a most exorbitant luxury. These pernicious steps captivated the commonalty, answered his drift, and enabled him to govern arbitrarily. He made war on the republic's allies to extort tributes from them, and, at the fame time, to divert the ambition and caprice of the Athenians, who, amidst the leisure of peace, would have grown factious and troublefome to government. Lastly, Pericles was fo far from preventing a rupture between his country and Lacedemon, as he might, that, in order to strengthen his authority at a critical juncture, and avoid giving in his accounts, he kindled the Peloponesian war. After such criminations, and these so well deserved, it is surprising that Thucidides, book ii. chap. 11. should say Pericles had acquired his authority by lawful means, and his interest was owing to his good sense and dignity. I much rather subscribe to the opinion of Pausanias, book 8. chap. 52. that the authors of the Peloponesian war are to be looked on as flagitious wretches, who facrificed all the feveral communities of Greece to their private ambition and interest. possitions, and built was common Prytagam

or guild half, and out of the old and new city be made one, which is named Allers, appointing, is commissionation of this happy junction, an annual facilities and relived which he called

Panathanea,

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

(P. 81. 1. 1) THESEUS, king of Attica, who lived between twelve and thirteen centuries before the Christian æra, finding the inconvenience of his people being dispersed in villages, and cantoned up and down the county, formed the defire of gathering together all the inhabitants of Attica into one town, and making them the people of one city, who, being before fcattered, it was very difficult to affemble them on any emergency, though of general concern, and requiring dispatch; nay, often such quarrals happened among them as occasioned bloodshed and formal wars. Going from tribe to tribe, he proposed his design of a common agreement between them. Those of a more private and mean condition readily closed with fuch falutary advice, and to those of greater power and interest, he promised a commonwealth, wherein, monarchy being laid afide, the power should be in the people. Having met with an universal acquiescence, he dissolved all the distinct courts of justice, council-halls, and corporations, and built one common Prytaneum or guild hall, and out of the old and new city he made one, which he named Athens, appointing, in commemoration of this happy junction, an annual facrifice and festival which he called

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Panathenea, or the solemnity of all the united Athenians. Then, as he had promised, he laid down his royalty, and settled a commonwealth; in the great change he did not neglect consulting the Gods, for sending to consult the Delphian oracle, he received this answer:

Hear, Theseus, Pitheus' daughter's son,
Hear what Jove for thee has done:
In the great city thou hast made,
He has, as in a store-house, laid
The settled periods and fixed sates
Of many cities, mighty states.
But know thou neither sear nor pain,
Sollicit not thyself in vain:
For like a bladder, that does bide
The sury of the boist'rous tide,
Thou from high waves unhurt shalt bound,
Ever tost, but never drown'd.

Which oracle one of the Sibyls is said to have repeated to the Athenians, a long time after in this line:

Thou, like a bladder, mayest be wet, but never drowned.

For the farther aggrandizment of his city, he, by proclamation, invited all strangers to Athens, with an assurance of being intirely on a footing with the natives. He, however, carefully took measures for preventing any confusion and anarchy, which might arise from the

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confluence of fuch a promiscuous multitude; and divided the commonwealth into three diffinct ranks, Noblemen, Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the nobility, he committed the choice of magistrates, the teaching and dispensing of the laws, and the administration of every thing pertaining to religion; the whole city being, as to all other matters, reduced to a kind of equality, the nobles superior to the rest in honour, the landholders in wealth and profit, and the artificers or trades-people in numbers. Accordingly Aristotle makes Theseus the first who generously parted with the regal power from a conviction, that popular government was in general better calculated for the welfare of a community. shir such hed said to your and

(P. 97. 1. 17.) Tyre was built by a colony from Sidon, a city of which the founder was Sidon, great-grandson to Noah, and so early as Joshua's time is called the Great Sidon. Its inhabitants were the first remarkable merchants in the world, and very early noted for luxury. The antiquity of Tyre may be learned from Isaiah, who chap. xxiii. 2. fays of it, Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient days; and in Joshua xix. 29. it is called the strong city Tyre. Justin says, that the Sidonians being belieged went in ships and built Tyre. In process of time it came to surpass Zidon, and to be the centre of commerce and opulence. Hence Isaiah xxiii. 3. it is called, a mart of nations, and

and verse 8. the crowning city, whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the bonourable of the earth: Justin's account of the peopling of Tyre implies that the infular Tyre was built before on the continent. Accordingly Ifaiah, who wrote many years before Nebuchadnezzar, befieged Tyre on the continent, and thus occafioned the building of the infular Tyre, calls the Tyrians twice inhabitants of the ifle, xxiii. 26. and the city itself the sea, and the strength of the sea, verse 4, 11. Mr. Maundrell describes the present state of Tyre as follows: Travels, p. 48. "This city standing in the sea, upon a peninfula, promifed at a distance something very magnificent; but when you come to it, you find no fimilitude of that glory for which it was fo renowned in antient times, and described by the prophet Ezekiel, chapters xxvi. xxvii. xxviii. On the north it has an old Turkish castle, besides which, you see nothing but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c. not so much as one entire house being left. The inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subfifting chiefly by fifting, who feem preferved in this place by divine providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word, concerning Tyre, viz. That it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets in."

(P. 99. 1. 19.) Areopagus, the senate of Athens, so called from a hill near the citadel,

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and confecrated to Mars. The members of this court were felected from among the citizens, most distinguished by birth and fortune, but especially by parts and probity; and fuch a high opinion was entertained of their equity, that all the Grecian states referred their differences to the areopagus, and acquiesced in its decisions. This court is the first with power of life and death. It appears that originally murderers only came within its cognizance, though afterwards its jurisdiction extended itself to incendiaries, conspirators, deferters, and at length to all capital crimes. Solon committed to them the management of the public money and the care of the education of youth, which included a power to punish sloth and licentiousness, and reward industry and temperance. Religion was likewise within the verge of the areopagus, or indeed their principal function. As to the administration of other concerns it never came under their deliberation, but when the state, on some alarming exigency, called in the wisdom of the areopagus, as its ultimate resource. This high authority it retained till the time of Pericles, who being incapable of fitting in the areopagus, as not having been archon, left no stone unturned to debase it. The vices which had then got footing in Athens, having infinuated themselves into this court, it gradually lost its esteem, and consequently its influence. Authors are not agreed about the number of its members: fome make it it thirty-one, others fifty-one; but this last opinion can suit only those times, when this tribunal, being fallen into disrepute, admitted both

Greeks and foreigners.

The areopagites are proved, by the Arundel marbles, to have subsisted nine hundred and forty-one years before Solon. They constantly held their sessions in the open air; and tried causes only in the night, that their attentions to the pleadings might not be diverted, nor their inclinations biassed, by the appearance and

deportment of the pleaders.

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The eloquence of a lawyer was looked on as a dangerous talent; and though in time they departed from their strictness in this respect, they excluded from pleadings whatever only tended to move the passions, or any digression from the ground of the question. In these two cases, the pleaders were silenced by a herald: they gave their vote without speaking a word, putting a kind of white or black pebble into an urn, one of brass called the urn of death, the other of wood called the urn of mercy.

(P. 103. l. 21.) 24. The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure, and he that hath little business shall become wise.

25. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad; that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks? 26. He giveth his mind to make furrows:

and is diligent to give the kine fodder.

27. So every carpenter and work-master, that laboureth night and day; and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work.

28. The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron-work, the vapour of the fire wasteth his slesh; and he sighteth with the heat of the surnace: the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and worketh to polish it perfectly.

29. So doth the potter, sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his seet, who is always carefully set at his work; and maketh

all his work by number.

30. He fashioneth the clay with his arm, and boweth down his strength before his feet; he applieth himself to lead it over; and he is diligent to make clean the furnace.

31. All these trust to their hands; and every

one is wife in his work.

32. Without these cannot the city be inhabited; and they shall not dwell where they

will, nor go up and down.

33. They shall not be sought for in public counsel, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judges seat, nor understand

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derstand the sentence of judgments: they cannot declare justice and judgment, and they shall not be found where parables are spoken.

34. But they will maintain the state of the world, and all their defire is in the work of their craft. Eccles. xxxviii.

(P. 104. 1. 24.) Rome, in its first years, was only an irregular heap of dwellings, where the want of ornament and conveniency bespoke the austere manners of its inhabitants. After being burnt by the Gauls, a new city arose from its ashes; but more unlightly than the former, the precipitate work of a year, without any order or regular disposition of the houses. But whilst individuals placed all their personal lustre in virtue, they took care to give the stamp of grandeur and immortality to all works of public utility; witness the canal digged during the fiege of Veii, in a mountain, for an outlet to the waters of Albanum lake *, witness the drains, the aqueducts, the highways, which are to be attributed to the times of the kings or the commonwealth, and which feventeen centuries ago were viewed with aftonishment, even by Romans, who had seen

periority.

To conceive the difficulty of fuch an undertaking in those remote ages, be it remembered, that the emperor Claudius intending to make a canal like Fucino lake, thirty thousand men were employed on it for the space of eleven apparied with a quiolo lense of its former

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the pyramids of Egypt. All these public works, of which infant Rome had both the thought and the models from the Etrusci, were made of large square stones, and without any cement whatever; all these embellishments are in a plain and masculine taste, correspondent to the temper of the primitive Romans: but this fimplicity came to be superseded by a taste for shew and magnificence, which soon degenerated into luxury. After the conquest of Greece, Cecilius Metellus introduced the use of marble in buildings; and from the year 662 of Rome, when Craffus the orator embellished the vestibule of his house on Mount Palestine with four marble pillars, luxury prevailed more and more, till the time of Caligula and Nero. Under their reigns it was carried to the highest pitch. One may judge of the quantity of granite, porphyry, and other marble pillars, formerly within Rome, by the number still remaining, which exceeds fix thoufand. Augustus used to boast that he had found a brick city, and turned it into marble; and Nero, cruel even in his good deeds, burnt Rome, in order to decorate it. Such is the fact, and its connection with the history of arts and manners is this.

A people equally incapable of bearing either thraldom or liberty, was to be tamed only by foftness; and if this licentious temper was accompanied with a quick sense of its former superiority,

periority, its haughtiness could not be better fomented, and at the fame time extinguished, than by throwing out to it petty objects of emulation, domestic combats, where they might fignalize their dexterity, without inuring them to military courage. Hence those sump-tuous thermæ to which the people flocked, as there meeting with baths, perfumes, exercises, and fights. Some, and no inconsiderable thermæ of Titus and Caracalla, are still remaining, and in their fubterraneous apartments paintings and statues, which Raphael was not above

copying.

A people still dangerous as being idle, and become idle by the liberalities and largesses of the emperors, and the discontinuance of the comitia, was to be fettled only by continuing the fhews: and this produced the many circufes, naumachias, theatres, and amphitheatres, which, the circufes excepted, were not built in any thing of a folid manner, till about the diffolution of the republic and the emperors times. In the year 601, a standing wooden theatre was began; but the national virtue taking umbrage at it, the work was pulled down, yet no noise was made against Augustus's erecting or finishing that of Marcellus, to the elegant architecture of which the moderns owe the proportions of the Doric order. The demolition of ancient Rome's finest structures is commonly attributed to the favageness of the Barbarians; but this the

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the learned Abbe Barthelemy conceives to be a mistake: "They, says he, minding nothing but plunder, were not at leisure, neither were they able to demolish monuments of such astonishing solidity; no, it was the ignorance, selfishness, and particular wars of the heads of sactions in Rome, which has made such havock of its antiquities, as may be seen, among other evidences, in a manuscript letter in the record-office at Rome;" and the Abbe observes, that its building always corresponded with its morals and manners.

(P. 109. l. 13.) Socrates, one of the greatest men that ever human nature produced, was born at Athens in the year 469 before Christ. He feveral times distinguished himself in the field of battle for his country; and his talents and virtues would probably have raised him to the first dignities of the Athenian state, had he not voluntarily declined all fuch pursuits, that he might wholly apply himself to philosophy, especially the moral. His eloquence carried irresistible persuasion with it, yet the only use he made of that powerful talent was for the promotion of an uniform virtue among his fellow citizens; and it was on account of the beauty and rectitude of his morality, that the oracle declared Socrates the most wise of all the Greeks. He used to say, that, " Ignorance was a real evil, and that opulence and grandeur fo far from being goods, were the fources of all odi

The three things he espeall kinds of evils." cially recommended to his disciples were, wisdom, modesty, and silence. Speaking of a prince who had expended vast sums on a palace, and had neglected all mental improvements, he observed, " that multitudes flocked from far and near to fee his fine palace; but as for himself, I do not find one very curious about feeing him." Whilft the thirty tyrants mentioned by Phocion were wantonly making havock among the confiderable men of Athens, he faid to a philosopher, "While we pity the great, let us be better pleafed with our lowness, as exempting us from being the subjects of tragedies." A physiognomist faying that he was fure he was of a brutish disposition, and given to lust and drunkenness, Socrates scholars Jaughed at him, and were for falling foul on him; but Socrates interposed, and owned he had naturally been fuch, till, by reflection and vigilance, he had got the better of his corruptions. He used to fay, " That painters took care to make a picture a good likeness, but that we gave ourselves no concern about being like God, who is our original; that men used a looking glass in dreffing themfelves, and neglected adorning themselves with virtue." To this inestimable philosopher, Greece chiefly owed its grandeur and reputation, the most celebrated personages in every branch of merit, as Alcibiades, Xenophon, Plato, &c. having been formed under his tuition : yet did

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did not all his endowments and deferts secure him from envy, persecution, and slander. The thirty tyrants silenced him from holding lectures to the youth of Athens, and on a charge of impiety as making a jest of the plurality of the Gods, he was sentenced to drink the juice of hemlock; and thus he died, 400 years before the Christian æra. Being told that the judges had sentenced him to death, he made answer, so has nature them.

(P. 113. I. 17.) Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra, Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore vultus; Orabunt causas melius; cœliq; meatus Describent radio, et surgentia sydera dicent: Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento: Hœ tibi erunt artes: paciq; imponere morem: Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos.

Others shall best inspire the mimick brass,

Or out of marble carve a living face;

Plead with more force, and trace the heavenly roads,

Describing the wide empire of the Gods:

The wand'ring stars to steady rules confine,

And teach expecting mortals when they'll shine.

The heavens, brave Romans, form'd for high command,

To make glad nations own their peace bestow'd, or To spare the suppliant, and pull down the proud.

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(P. 114. l. 3.) Lord Shaftsbury, speaking

of ancient comedy, has these words:

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" A great conqueror arose; and, by subduing a variety of nations, opened a communication between the commonwealth of Athens, and the Eastern kingdoms, which were of more luxurious and refined manners: on this event the fecond or middle species of comedy naturally received a polish; and, laying aside the indirect personal invective, assumed the more delicate form of general raillery, and became a picture of human life." The learned reader will eafily fee, that Alexander the Great is the conqueror here alluded to: in his reign it was, and not till that late period, that the middle comedy was polished into the new. This was the natural effect of that politeness, which was introduced at Athens by a frequent and familiar commerce with the effeminate nations of the East. Till then, although the Athenians justly boasted a superiority in the arts, yet in their converse and treatment of each other, the concurrent authority of ancient historians, as well as the more certain testimony of their own remaining comedies, affure us, that they were of an illiberal and buffooning turn. But no sooner were the Asiatic luxuries and refinements brought to Athens, by the conquests of Alexander, than their coarse manners melted gradually into false politeness and esseminacy. Now.

Now, " one of the first effects of a growing politeness, is to avoid all occasions of offence. and this, without respect to any consequences. either good or bad, which may affect the public; but merely from a felfish regard to the opinion of elegance, and the pride of urbanity."

Dr. Brown on music and poetry.

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CONVERSATION IV.

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(1) PLUTARCH relates, that Alexander would have made Phocion a present of an hundred talents; and that his messengers on this occasion found this great man drawing water to wash his feet, and his wife kneeding bread.

(2) The Greeks in general effeemed the love of one's country as the citizen's capital virtue; and in every republic the legislators feem to have been more folicitous about infpiring, extending, and enforcing it, than about knowing the bounds which reason assigns to it, or rather how it should be directed or governed by reason. The doctrine which Phocion lays before Ariftias must appear full of wisdom, indeed the only doctrine beneficial to man; and I do not think that any of his readers will withftand the evidence of his reasonings: neither do I pretend to add any thing to them; but only beg leave, in this note, to enquire into the causes which have hindered focieties from knowing their reciprocal duties; a knowledge which is absolutely necessary for them, and without which the love of one's country is but a blind and unjust heat, ord etrores, and not the effects annexed to

producing a great part of the calamities with which mankind are afflicted.

If men were a long time before they perceived the necessity of uniting themselves in fociety; if nothing under a long experience of calamities and horrors could shew each individual the advantage he would find in giving up his original independence, and fubmitting to laws and magistrates, it was but natural that focieties should be still infinitely flower in contracting alliances among themselves. Nothing was to be expected for some ages from citizens wild in original liberty, and thus accustomed to follow every impulse, but savage societies. These first societies, or leagues of banditti, retained against their neighbours all the ferocity which the citizens had fcarce divefted themselves of towards one another: not being fusceptible of a mutual confidence, they looked on each other as enemies; and a hatred more or less brutal was the mobile of their politics.

If we, who pretend to philosophy, often make an ill use of our courage and forces; if with all our ideas of justice, and the law of nations, prefer conquests to equity; if our pride fwells at the name of victory; if we hold Alexander to be a greater man than Aristides: must not strength, courage, and violence, have been accounted capital qualities in states just emerging from savageness? To how many pasfions and prejudices, tending to obstruct the first efforts, must not the esteem annexed to

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those qualities have given birth? The more booty foldiers brought back, the more did their avaricious women and old men load them with praises. The more extensive their incurfions abroad, the more were they celebrated at home. The greater the ravages, the higher ideas were conceived of the foldiers who had committed them. The conquered durst not complain, for fear of provoking their ferocious conquerors, elevated by victory, and as yet, not so prudent as to apprehend a reverse of fortune. The latter were intoxicated with their prosperity; and the former, by the most submissive humility, fludied to foften them, yet not without hopes of having their revenge. Moderation, being looked on only as a weakness, would have been despised equally with cowardice. The worse they treated their vanquished enemies, the more they supposed to terrify their neighbours, and give the greater proofs of their courage and conduct. All were univerfally dazzled and deceived by a false glory; and in this silence of reason, which did not yet know that it had any rights to claim, prejudice persuaded them that fuperior strength might do whatever it pleafed.

Hence that ferocious and cruel law of nations among even those of the antients who were the most celebrated for their wisdom, generosity, and politeness of manners; a declaration of war was held to be a sentence of death pronounced against a nation. According to this

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odious principle, war knows no restraint, no regard; and even prisoners, who had so far furrendered as to ground their arms, if their lives were spared, it was to fell them for flaves. The Greeks were for a long time plunged in this barbarity: the fate of the Hilotes and Meffenians when fubdued is well known. They became improved, as Phocion observes, so far as to look upon all Greece to be their common country; but if among themselves they cultivated several laws of humanity, very far were they from practifing them with regard to foreigners. They treated them as barbarians, they despised them, as not intitled to any duty or regard; and imagined that nature, in making them less brave and less knowing than themfelves, had destined them for servitude.

word to express an enemy and a neighbour, made their first appearance as banditti. They stole women, and lived by rapine; but they acquired morals pretty early, and after the expulsion of the Tarquins shewed a great deal of moderation to foreigners, till they came to sink under the weight of an overgrown fortune; and at length, by abusing the advantages of victory, they sapped the very soundations of the republic. They did not make war unjustly, never did they begin hostilities, till after performing several formalities, declarative of their regard for justice: they excelled all other people

in a religious observance of the laws of humanity towards their conquered enemies, and even shewed an esteem for those who rendered them-

felves worthy of it.

The following paffage is always remembered with pleasure: the Privernati, after several obstinate wars against the Roman republic, fuffered fuch a lofs, that being obliged to fly and fhut themselves up even in their very city, they were there belieged by the conful Plautius. Being reduced to extremities, they fent ambaffadors to Rome, to negociate a peace; and the fenate having asked them what chastisement they thought they deferved; "That, answered they, " which men deferve who think themselves " worthy to be free, and have done all that " could be done to preferve their hereditary " freedom." But, replied the conful, should Rome forgive you, may the not promife herfelf, that hereafter you will religiously observe the peace? "Yes, answered the ambassadors, " if the conditions be just, humane, and such as we may not be ashamed of; but if this " peace be ignominious, do not expect that the necessity which will oblige us to close with to-day, will make us observe it to-mor-" row." Some senators expressed great indignation at the haughtiness of this answer; but the majority of the senate, being men of parts and courage, commended the Privernatian ambaffadors, and, agreeably to their principles, concluded.

cluded, that enemies whom such disasters had not depressed, deserved the honour of being made citizens of Rome.

Amidst all the magnanimity and wisdom of the Romans, still their law of nations remained very far below that point of perfection to which found philosophy should have carried it. However beneficent and humane, they were as conquerors who were very glad to have enemies to fight, as a colour for exercifing their troops and extending their dominion. We think we perceive ambition through all their moderation; or rather one would take their virtue to have been only an artifice, dazzling their allies, imposing on their enemies, and facilitating their successes.

It would have been a prodigy, had nations practifed a more humane law of nations, before Phocion's doctrine on the love of one's country was known; and known it could not be, before the philosophers had discovered the errors of our passions, and plainly shewn, by comparing facts, that politics, far from promising the prosperity of a state, hastens its declension and ruin, if it does not account the love of mankind as a superior virtue, from which the love of one's country is to take its measures. Monarchical and ariftocratic governments, fcarce ever know the reciprocal obligations among the members of the same society, are still less disposed to know their duties towards strangers. In democracies, the people, in whom duded

whom the fovereign power is lodged, are unfleady, haughty, violent, and vindictive: thus
many passions conceal the truth and their real
interests from them. In other republics, such
as Sparta and Rome, in which the partition of
the public power, and a liberty subordinate to
the laws, inspires the citizens with a thousand
virtues, the very love of one's country commonly swells them with a kind of vanity and
haughtiness, irreconcilable with the uniform
observance of humanity towards strangers.

The Greeks continued in their ignorance till Socrates's time, who being the first philosopher who applied philosophy to the study of morals, thought himself a citizen of all places where men dwelt. He published immortal truths; but Greece, which two centuries before might have adopted them, was no longer capable of understanding them. Socrates talked of the love of mankind to men, who had not fo much as any love for their country. The Peloponnesian war armed all the cities of Greece against one another. Amidst the fury of intestine dissensions, the fole spring and rule of conduct was the ambition, the avarice, the timidity or boldness of their magistrates and some artful citizens who governed them. Socrates had fome followers, who from prudence declined any share in the administration. The troubles of Greece increased, after Lacedemon, imprudently suffering itself to be guided by Lysander, had openly T 3

openly renounced its virtues to give itself up to ambition. What times for speaking of the mutual duties of nations were the reigns of Philip, Alexander, and their ambitious successors? Truth was stifled in its birth, or at least went not out of the schools which some philo-

fophers kept at Athens.

The philosophy of Socrates and Plato passed from Greece to Rome; but it is as if nothing falls out opportunely in this world. Had the Romans preferved their ancient manners, they undoubtedly would have principles correspondent with their moderation, their strict justice, and their poverty; but, vitiated by their good fortune, nothing would fatisfy them but being the tyrants over nations, of which the virtue of their fathers had made them the masters. In the same works where Cicero, overflowing with the genius of Socrates and Plato, taught that all men are brothers; that they ought to love, fuccour, and do good to each other; that the whole earth should be looked on only as one large city, the feveral quarters of which are not to fet up opposite interests; he laments that there is no longer any love of one's country, or any other virtue in Rome, and that the republic is quite annihilated. "We " are fallen, says he, into an immense abyss of " calamities. Every thing has put on a new " face among us, fince hardened by our vio-" lences, which we exercise towards strangers, we are viacgo

"are come to be unjust and cruel towards our fel"low citizens. Avarice, insolence, and the spirit
of tyranny, after silencing the laws, have
"committed so many extortions, such rapines,
and such depredations upon our allies, that
"we subsist rather by the imbecility of our
enemies, who know not how to avail themfelves of our weakness, than by any fort of

Cicero's philosophy could have no better fate in Rome, than that of Socrates had in Greece. All the world knows that the civil wars, caused by the licentiousness of the citizens, were superseded by the tyranny of the emperor Augustus's successors. Like that Critias of whom mention is made in *Phocion's Conversations*, they would have deprived mankind even of the very faculty of thinking. Thus all light was extinguished throughout the whole Roman domain, and beyond its limits, were only savage nations, resembling those infant societies, mentioned in the beginning of this note.

Amidst informers, proscriptions, the most abject servitude, and the most sanguinary tyranny, how should the Roman, being ignorant of what he owes to himself, his fellow-citizens, and country, have conceived that he was under any duties towards foreigners? Such were the calamities of the empire, that Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius could suspend them only for some moments; they

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could not redress them. The public power being in the hands of soldiers, always ready to sacrifice the emperors to their caprice, lest not so much as the poor hope of being long governed by the same vices and the same passions.

The world, at coming under the dominion of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, Burgundians, Franks, Saxons, &c. feemed relapfing into its original barbarism. Those savages, after having for a long time harraffed, pillaged, and desolated the Roman provinces, shared them among themselves. They retained in their conquests the manners, laws, and government which they had brought from the forests of Germany. There could be no law of nations among men who valued themselves on living by rapine. Christianity, which they embraced, and which would have instructed them in all the duties of humanity, left them in their pristine ignorance, because they only believed its doctrines, without adopting its morality. It was indeed too sublime for savages: if their ferocity did begin to abate, it was owing to their giving into some mean and abject vices of the vanquished.

Never did mankind see more sudden and extraordinary revolutions, than those which were felt under the government of the people of the North and of Scythia. Every day a new monarchy was formed, and every day saw the down-

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fal of one just raised. When at length the Barbarians, weakened by their wars, began to be more quiet in their conquests, feudal government, a French system, quickly spread itself through all Europe; that is to fay nothing was feen but merciless tyrants or their slaves. They had no political nor civil law; they retained no idea, either of those express or tacit compacts, which have formed fociety, nor of its proper end, or suitable administration. Force alone decided the right between lords and vaffals, who in one kingdom only fet up a hundred different principalities. All their rule of conduct was fome uncertain customs, which the licentiousness of passions, and irregularity of events, hindered from confolidating into any order or stability. In short, to form an idea of the morality of these barbarous ages, let us call to mind that piety itself became tinctured with the rapine which feudal government brought into repute. The Croifades were looked on as an act of religion, by which God was greatly honoured.

Europe, tired out with its calamities, and fpent by its diffensions, was, if I may be allowed the expression, for methodising disorders. The laws enacted were absurd and iniquitous, yet was it no small matter the knowing of the necessity of laws. It was apprehended that society required a legislative power; and yet was it long before any regular obedience could

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be obtained. A code was to be drawn up, and the few who could read had no other models than the civilians of the empire, whose works, void both of principles and order, are so many proofs of the wretched servitude into which the laws were fallen. The emperor's rescripts, and decrees of the magistrates, the former always arbitrary, the latter frequently electing, made the basis of their knowledge; and as a person very knowing in this matter, observes, none of these civilians had so much as dreamed of illustrating the law of nature and nations.

I abridge the shameful history of our barbarifm. Europe, (and a long interval it was) did not put on a new face, till the establishment of authority and subordination, and the overthrow of the eaftern empire, when literature, which had taken shelter at Constantinople, passed over to Italy. The antients now began to be known, and rapid progreffes were made towards cultivating the sciences, which by enlightening the mind, dispose the heart to a love of order, laws, and morality: but however the inferior part of states was become better policed, their base politics towards one another are well known. The reading of Plato and Cicero should have led our fathers into the track of truth; but prejudices were of too long a standing, and too general, to be diffipated in a moment. Far from being ashamed, they gloried in perfidy. Blindness, connected with daring ambition, ambition, thought it might do any thing. Though they reasoned, still they believed that the law of nations, as sounded on arbitrary stipulations, was in no wise different from their customs and practices; and that communities whilst they conformed to such customs never could act amiss. Facts, to the shame of human reason, and inexpressible calamity of mankind, were judged to be precedents of right and wrong; and very late was it before they thought of bringing these facts to the test of reason.

The principles of the law of nature are simple, clear, and evident; and philosophy which, in certain articles, has made fuch great progresses, ought long ago to have left us nothing wanting on the nature of the mutual duties of communities. Some authors, who have handled this subject, so far from throwing light on truth, meant only to difguise it. Some have not dared fo much as to think that the politics of the European powers were unjust; and others durst not fay fo. Books, which should convey instruction, have perpetuated our ignorance and prejudices. Whilst we are unacquainted with the laws by which nature connects together all men, whilst we are for establishing a law of nations which shall favour ambition, avarice, and violence, how can we coincide with Socrates. Plato, Phocion, and Cicero? How can we hold that the love of one's country, as fubordinate

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to the love of mankind, must walk by its rule. or expose itself to be productive of great calamities?

(3) "We do not see, says Aristotle in the 4th chap, and 7th book of his Politics, any city well policed, which contains a great number of people; and our reason unfolds to us the causes of that which experience sets every day before our eyes. Police is order, and of this how should a great multitude be susceptible. when among them there are always numbers habitually and openly breaking the laws, and the great number of delinquents facilitates impunity. God alone, whose almighty power governs the universe, can maintain order in a on the nature of the mutual ch

But what number, fays Plate in his 5th book of Laws, is fufficient, cannot be rightly determined, but by comparing the lands and neighbouring states. The arable and pasture land may be fuch as to fuffice a number, without any need of extension; but there should be inhabitants sufficient to repel injuries from neighbours, or to affift them when unjuftly attacked." 201 2 Pennos suren doidw vd zwal 201

The doctrine of the ancients on this subject is uniform. They made little account of what we call great powers. Our large provinces have fewer forces than several republics of Greece. It was nothing uncommon to find in but a middling territory thirty or forty thousand

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thousand citizens; and the inhabitants of this territory, by the excellent form of their government and police, had for its defence an army of thirty or forty thousand men. How many confiderable kingdoms are now a days not able to furnish such armies? The police of the ancient Greeks, which did not confine the employment of the citizens to one fingle function. their frugality, fimplicity of manners, the much greater equality of private fortunes than among us, increased their forces, their industry, and courage, without increasing their hands. Is it fo among modern nations? No, certainly and this is what makes them fo weak. But to purfue this idea, and shew how it comes to pass that a modern state, with ten millions of subjects, can have an army only of fifty thousand men, and these mercenaries, would require a separate treatise of no small magnitude.

(4) Plato, in his 12th book of Laws, tells us, "All the dances are likewife to be solemnly performed, that the war may be carried on with success; and, on the same account, the utmost address, agility, and readiness are to be acquired. For the like reason, we are farther to accustom ourselves to bear hunger and thirst, cold and heat, and to lie hard; but especially impairing the strength of the head and feet, by unnatural coverings, is to be avoided." We see how the exercises which Plato prescribes to the citizens, and the habits which

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he would have them practife, tend to inspire the love of temperance and labour; the making good foldiers necessarily making good citizens. Lycurgus had prescribed to the Spartans all that is to be found in the last cited passage of Plato; and the Spartans punctually obeyed these institutions. "A time of war was for them, favs Plutarch, a time of rest." Let us observe the various measures the Greeks and Romans took, in time of peace, to be provided with invincible armies. They were not contented that their foldiers should be better than those of their neighbours or enemies, they were for making them as good as they ought and could be. I believe it would not be impossible to prove, that a state in which every citizen is not trained to defend his country as a foldier, can never have any thing of a good military establishment. So marshal Saxe thought: see his Reveries, which is the work of a great commander, who had studied war philosophically. If there are men in a flate wholly confined to civil employments, they will necessarily introduce an effeminacy of manners, and fuch effeminacy of manners will as certainly relax the springs of military government.

(5) Though Athens did not experience either of the inconveniencies which Phocion apprehended, his fear was not the less grounded. The Athenians escaped them only by falling a little time after under the power of Philip,

against whom they had imprudently declared war. It is certain that differences like these of which Phocion speaks between rich and poor citizens, have in republics always contributed to ruin liberty, or subjected them to their enemies. Every state in which the citizen will not be at the pains of making himself a soldier must soon or late come to be governed by soldiers, or by those who have the art of making themselves masters of armies.

Carthage revolted several times; but, mercenary troops being rapacious, they were quieted by money: whereas, with an ambitious leader, they would have overthrown the republic. What Phocion adds on the ruin of the Carthaginians, is a true prediction, and we might, after his example, draw the horoscope of trading states. All the powers of Europe are now become commercial; and this defect in their politics being general, none of them feel the inconveniencies of it, with regard to their enemies: they fight on equal terms; but should a republic be formed, on the Roman system, what would become of such commercial states?

(7) This was the perpetual cry at Athens after Pericles's administration. Thucydides in the 9th chapter of his first book, makes him say in a speech, "Money does more in war than men, who are only capable of some slight efforts." Where this maxim of Pericles is veri-

fied,

fied, it is a certain proof, that the republic never was acquainted with found politics, or has departed from them; and that the manners are corrupted. Such a republic should make war only against enemies as vicious as itself, otherwise it runs headlong into its own destruction.

(8) May I be allowed to offer some reflections on trade, which modern nations account the sinew of the state; and if in an error, I wish some writer versed in this subject, now the universal tenet, would be pleased to set me right.

Phocion has just now faid, in speaking of the extent of the dominion which the Carthaginians had acquired: among people equally vicious, I am not surprised that such as can buy foldiers should have the advantage. I likewise will say, I am not surprised that, among the people of Europe, who have all equally forfaken the found principles of politics, trade, as productive of money, should be a means of having and maintaining more numerous armies. But I will ask if these soldiers, who can only be mercenaries picked up out the dregs of the people, or forced away from any other professions, are capable of having the courage and discipline of the ancients? For these mercenaries to bear the fatigues, and face the dangers of war, with the same patience and the same courage as those citizens of Greece and Rome who were born foldiers, and had fought

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in defence of their houses and homes, would be a miracle. I beg to observe, in the second place, that a state with mercenary armies, must be wealthy; and hence I conclude, that it cannot have a good military discipline, because there is no being rich without having the manners which riches import; and these manners are diametrically opposite to those which war requires. I know very well that the soldiers and subaltern officers are in little danger of being enervated by luxury; but it softens the leaders, and necessarily relaxes the vigour of discipline and command; and the passions of others take advantage of such remissiness, to gratify themselves in their way.

If my reflections are just, can it be thought that the people who have provided for their fecurity otherwise than the Greeks and Romans, act prudently? I shall be told that the political fystem, being now military in all states, no inconvenience refults from it to each power in particular; and that confequently the main point to a state, is the having a great deal of money, thereby to have armies superior to those of its enemies. This feems to me no good reasoning; for the faults of my neighbours do not justify mine. I have always heard, that politics is the knowlege of procuring the greatest good to fociety, and not copying the errors of others; and that in attending to the present moment, we ought to have an eye to hereafter, and. and set ourselves above the sear of its contingencies. A Roman republic, that is to say a power which conducts itself by good principles, may arise in my neighbourhood; and what security then will my mercenary and ill disciplined soldiers be against its ambition? The Carthaginians concluded no change could happen in their situation relatively to their neighbours; they have been mistaken, and why may not I in harbouring the like imaginations?

It is our passions, and not our reason, as Phocion fays, which have persuaded us, that money is the finew of a state. The most immense treasures may be exhausted; we soon come to fee the end of them, where men are mercenary and covetous; and fuch they always are, when the state makes a practice of paying in money the fervices which are done to it: where is then the prudence of relying on riches? Whereas the larger the expences are in virtues, if I may use the expression, the more the stock of virtues increases by example and emulation. Virtue then is the only finew of states, and in it alone will wisdom place its reliance. They who make fuch a noise, about extending trade and enriching the state, have they, like Phocion, balanced the advantages and inconveniences connected with riches? Have they found, after a very exact calculation, that the advantages greatly outweighed the inconveniencies?

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encies? If fo, I intreat them to communicate their discoveries to us. Let them refute Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and all the politicians of antiquity; let them have the affurance to tell us, that Tyre, Carthage, &c. were republics more wifely governed than Lacedemon and Rome; that these two last cities became more happy and powerful, as they grew opulent; and that the Romans should, by their constitution, have been overcome by the Carthaginians.

A whimfical argument made use of to prove the advantages of trade is, giving a circumstantial detail of all the evils under which a state labours in the decline of its trade, and when it has loft a confiderable part of its wealth. I allow this to be indeed a mean fituation. The state, without any other spring than money to produce motion, falls into a lethargic torpour; it is tortured by passions which it cannot fatisfy, and nothing is more ridiculous nor more detrimental than the vices of wealth amidst poverty. But these vexations, far from proving that riches and trade constitute the happiness, strength, and security of a state, shew precisely the contrary, if it be true, as shall be seen in a moment, that riches and trade must decline as soon as they have reached a certain pitch. Should this state, taking a view of its past and present situation, come to be convinced of the inutility and abuse and ve orimonal Ungana

of riches and trade, reform its manners; should it, by the help of some new laws, replace its former wealth by temperance, the love of glory, and disinterestedness, I ask whether its new moderation would not be more advantageous to it than its former avarice? By banishing covetousness and luxury, it would find itself rich in its poverty, and would be better defended by the courage of its citizens, than it had been by the riches of its trade.

In proof of the premises, I will set down the thought of a modern writer, who has studied trade with very extraordinary knowlege and penetration. "When a state, says Mr. Cantillon, has acquired great riches, whether as the fruit of its mines, trade, or contributions levied on foreigners, the certain consequence is that it quickly falls into poverty." Antient and modern history is full of these revolutions, and the order and progress of them is thus stated by Mr. Cantillon.

"The persons, says that most ingenious author, whom these sums of gold and silver have enriched, increase their expences in proportion to their gains; they consume more provisions and merchandize; the husbandmen and artizans being consequently more employed, see their fortunes increase, and are for enjoying them. This increase of consumption raising the price of provisions and merchandize, workmen can no longer be easy under their former wages. All the articles of consumption becoming by that means

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means still dearer, a considerable profit will be had, by procuring goods from foreigners as working at lower prices. Then it is that the flate begins to experience the calamities of poverty; past affluence gives a keener edge to the present indigence. The ground is less cultivated, the husbandman felling less of his products; and the artizans must starve, or go to feek bread among strangers, as, by the luxury of the rich, large fums are continually remitted to them. The state, though impoverished, and no longer able to raife the fame fubfidies, cannot, however, bring itself either to diminish its expences, or proportion its views and enterprizes to its fortune; and the pride which its wealth had inspired precipitates it into diftrefs. a see that most val at . won I felt

"It seems proper, adds Mr. Cantillon, that when a state, become aggrandized by trade, and plenty of money, has made the price of provisions and manufactures too dear, the prince or magistrate should call in a part of the money, reserve it for unforeseen exigencies, and endeavour by every method, the compulsive and iniquitous excepted, to slacken the circulation, in order to prevent too great a dearness, and check the bad consequences of luxury." But how should princes or magistrates, accustomed to esteem riches the source of happiness and strength, be alarmed at the plenty of money disfusing itself over a kingdom or republic?

On this Mr. Cantillon observes: " Besides that it is not easy, says he, to be aware of the time proper for fuch a proceeding, or to know when money is become more plentiful than it ought to be for the real good of the state, princes and leading men in republics little concern themselves about such fort of knowledge, minding only to avail themselves of the ready means which the immense revenues put into their hands, of enlarging their power and attacking other states upon the most frivolous pretences." And are we to require miracles? How can it be thought, that in a country where exorbitant wealth renders the citizens covetous, prodigal, voluptuous, flothful, &c. the heads of the nation should remain incorruptible? They, so far from putting a stop to the progress of luxury, will lead the way : œconomy they will look on as a political vice; they will form to themselves false principles concerning circulation of money, and ferioufly believe, that the extravagant expences of the rich are necessary to the subsistence of the poor. All comes who chochem wrave ved more

Should government call in the money, by fome prudent and equitable method, clog its circulation, and thus form a treasury, is it not evident, according to Phocion's opinion, that this would be secreting and cherishing a snake in its bosom? Can he who has any knowlege of the human heart, be persuaded in

himself,

nimfelf, that this treasury will not be a rock fatal to the fuccessors of the princes or magiftrates who were its founders? Is it probable, that they would resist the inticements of profuseness? Will they hold out against the infinuations of rapacious flatterers? The passions will borrow the language of reason. That clear-fighted prudence which had wrested from circulation a destructive plenty of money, they will dress up in the garb of a mean and ridiculous parsimony. "What signifies, will they fay, a dead stock of money, buried as it were out of the way of all circulation? It might as well have laid in the mines of Peru, as to be confined in your coffers. In a rich nation there is no unforeseen exigency; wealth produces wealth; iffue out among your people those referved fums; when your occasions call they will be returned you with large increase." gates of the treasury will assuredly be thrown open, and this inundation of money will produce evils the more pernicious, as, from the more sudden increase of fortunes and luxury, an excessive multiplication of wants will haften the revolution which will naturally follow the too great plenty of money; and indigence now superseding all the gratifications and vices of luxury, must appear intolerable.

"In order, fays Mr. Cantillon, to remove evils caused by the plenty of money, and reftore the state, a real balance of trade must be an-

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nually and continually brought in a those works and manufactures which a nation always vends at a cheaper rate, when under declenfion and a fcarcity of cash, are to be encouraged by navigation. The merchants make the first fortunes, and these will by degrees be diffused among the other citizens: but money becoming a second time too plentiful in the state, great confumption and luxury will make their way, and it will fall a fecond time into declenfion. This alternative is what a confiderable state, stocked with materials and industrious inhabitants, may be brought to; and an able minister has it always in his power to renew the rotation."

I intreat the reader attentively to weigh this paffage of Mr. Cantillon; does it not imply, that only a false and erroneous policy will admit, as a principle of the happiness of a state, an expedient of opulence with poverty at its heels? True politics plans a more durable happiness; and thus a state, which looks upon riches as the finew of war and peace, will neceffarily pass through perpetual revolutions; falling from luxury into poverty, and rifing from poverty to luxury. This, according to Mr. Cantillon, is the best it can expect, and to bring it about is the master-piece of the most confummate politics. Had Mr. Cantillon, instead of considering only the effects of riches and trade, extended his observations, and no body was more capable, to the whole body of the fociety, he probably would have been of of Phocion's mind. Far from desiring that a republic, whose sinances have been ruined by too great riches, "should apply itself to reestablish annually a real ballance of trade," he would advise it to make use of such declension for repressing luxury and avarice, cultivating virtue, bringing poverty into esteem, or at least learning to do without superfluous wealth. Would not such politics be superior to those of the able minister intent only on beginning again this round of riches and poverty of which Mr. Cantillon speaks?

It is not so easy for a minister to renew this rotation in a state the circumstances of which are at low ebb. It would be necessary that the government should lend the citizens a helping hand, and lower the duties for the ease of trade; but this the government will not do. The former abundance has accustomed it to a great many wants, and these wants will crush the republic. Granting, what is not to be fupposed, that its magistrates will be always men of fuch capacity, application, and good intentions as to renew the alternation Mr. Cantillon speaks of; what will be the result? The state will be in extreme danger, if in the interval of poverty, which will affuredly follow an exuberance of riches, one of its enemies should invade it; so that the politics of this able minister, in renewing the rotation, are really only pregnant with a terrible misfortune to the republic, and put it into a condition, which invites and enables an enemy to make an easy conquest of it. Is this providing for the welfare of a state? is this securing to it a permanent prosperity?

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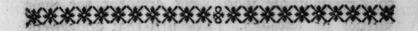
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CONVERSATION V.

(1) A Spartan who had fled before the enemy, was excluded from all assemblies and companies. To contract an affinity with him by marriage was a difgrace; one fide of his beard was to be always shaved; any citizen who met him might strike him, and he not allowed to return the blow. The Romans, after the battle of Cannæ were wifer than Agefilaus after that of Leuctra; they would not ransom the prisoners taken by Hannibal, Nec vera virtus quum semel excidit curat reponi deterioribus. See in Horace Regulus's admirable speech to the Roman senate. The foldiers of Rome, knowing that they must conquer or die, became more courageous than ever; and the Spartans feeing that cowardice was not punished, never had the courage to retrieve their reputation.

(P. 181. l. 1.) The oftracism only commanded a ten years absence, at the end of which the party returned, and enjoyed his estate, which was preserved all that time entire for him. It was indeed instituted not so much as a punish-

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ment of offenders as to mitigate and allay the fury of the envious multitude, that delighted to depress those who were eminent for their virtues or exploits. The first that underwent this condemnation was Hipparchus, a kinsman to the tyrant of the same name; and Damon, præceptor to Pericles, was exiled only because accounted a man of more than ordinary parts. Afterwards, when base, mean, and villanous fellows became included in the oftracism, the people being offended, as if some contempt or affront had been put upon this mode of shewing their spleen, recurred to other means, and quite abolished it. The ostracism was performed in this manner: every one taking an oftracon, or potsherd, or tile, with a person's name written on it, carried it to a certain part of the market place, railed in for that purpose, and with a distinct gate for each of the ten tribes into which Athens was divided. That being done, the archons or chief magiftrates numbered all the tiles, for if they did not amount to fix thousand, the offracism was void; then laying every name by itself, they pronounced him whose name was written by the major part banished for ten years, yet with enjoyment of his estate. Potter's Greek Antiquities.

(2) If Phocion feared to be looked on as weak-brained, should he lay before the Athenians of his time the great truths in which he

Instructs Aristias; I ought to apprehend that I shall not be thought very wise, for having given myself the trouble of translating his Treatise. It is, however, useful to know to what a pitch one should foar, though without little or no hopes of being able to reach it. Who knows? After a severe consist in delivering ourselves from a first vice, we may possibly be able to shake off a second without much trouble.

(3) A passage in his fifth book is to this purpose: But do not you think that he who distinguishes himself above all others, deserves to be crowned by his young fellow-warriors, to be taken by the hand, be embraced, and kissed by them? And I think it should be added, that during that expedition, none shall be allowed to resuse being kissed by him; so, if any be enamoured with a youth or damsel, he will exert himself with the greater ardour to obtain the victory.

(4) The inhabitants of the hill were for a mere democracy, and those of the plain declared for a strict aristocracy; whilst they who dwelled along the coast, in this respect wiser than their countrymen, insisted on a mixture of those two governments. The Athenians at that time were poor, consequently strangers to the resinements of luxury, and had no trades or arts among them, but such as were really necessary. A stronger instance of their good mo-

rals cannot be, than the unanimous facrifice of their respective interests to the public welfare, agreeing to make Solon arbiter, judge, and

legislator.

The reader, on recollecting Solon's life by Plutarch, will not be much furprized at Phocion's feeming to make fo little account of his country's legislator. Some poetical pieces of Solon's are preserved in the above writer, where the pleasures of sense and voluptuousness are celebrated in a manner little becoming a philosopher. He is thought to have been a merchant in his younger days, and when grown old he loved indolence, good cheer, and music. Seduced by Pifistratus's favours, he departed from his attachment to his country, and became the flatterer and leading counsellor to the oppressor of the public liberty. Solon, as a legislator, only patched up the evils under which Athens laboured; and the laws he gave to the Athenians were but superficial, pretending that they were not capable of better laws; this must have been very deficient and weak indeed, as the authoroutlived them. Solon was for pleasing all forts of people, and pleased none, neither rich nor poor. The authority he allowed to the laws and magistrates was not sufficient for abolishing all the former prejudices and divisions; and these subsisting, the government could not be brought to a firm confiftency.

Several of Solon's laws, taken separately, are wise and praise-worthy; but never is the principle or scope of them the same, sometimes they are even contradictory and obscure. Certain it is, that, with Lycurgus's genius, knowledge, and resolution, he might have availed himself of the considence which the Athenians had in him, to make them happy, and have instituted a government very little different from that of Lacedemon.

(5) Lycurgus was not formally chosen by the Spartans to be their legislator, as Solon was by the Athenians. He digested his plan of reformation in concert with thirty substantial citizens, who engaged to second him; and twenty-eight of them stood to their word. These, by his direction, coming armed to the forum, he openly read his laws, and enforced a consent to them. The disturbers of the state, and corrupters of the people, intimidated by such a vigorous step, did not offer any opposition. See Lycurgus's Life by Plutarch.

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